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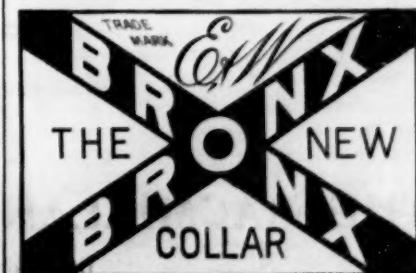
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# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 18, 1898.

## The Week.

The Philippine question was dodged, not settled, in the terms of peace submitted to Spain, but somebody in authority has got to make up his mind about it before long. Instructions will have to be given to our peace commissioners. It is no wonder, then, that the President is reported to be carefully, even anxiously, studying the expressions of public opinion on this subject. The great trouble is that we are, in a sense, already committed too far to withdraw easily. It seemed a very natural thing, really a war measure pure and simple, to order Dewey to stay in Manila Bay, and to send a military expedition to capture the city of Manila (which fell into our hands on Saturday); but in that decision, made in the first weeks of the war, lay the germ of our present difficulties. It is the first step that costs in this imperialistic rake's progress, as John Morley has called it, and it is worth while to quote his description of the other steps. He was speaking of England and Chitral, of course, but his words have an evident application, *mutatis mutandis*, to our own awkward position as respects the Philippines:

"First, you push on into territories where you have no business to be, and, in our case, where you had promised you would not go; secondly, your intrusion provokes resentment, and in these wild countries resentment means resistance; thirdly, you instantly cry out that the people are rebellious and that their act is rebellion—this in spite of your own assurance that you have no intention of setting up a permanent sovereignty over them; fourthly, you send a force to stamp out the rebellion; and fifthly, having spread bloodshed, confusion, and anarchy, you declare, with hands uplifted to the heavens, that moral reasons force you to stay, for if you were to leave, this territory would be left in a condition which no civilized Power could contemplate with equanimity or with composure. These are the five stages of the Forward Rake's Progress."

The inherent and apparently insurmountable difficulties in the way of a compromise about the Philippines are clearly perceived in Madrid if not in Washington. Spanish newspapers are pointing out the intolerable situation which would at once arise if the United States took simply the island of Luzon or a part of it. On the other side of any line of demarcation that might be drawn the natives would be in chronic revolt. Differences in administration would arouse jealousies and bickerings which would make the last state of the islands worse than the first. How could one system of taxation, one law of personal rights, or military service, be enforced upon ignorant men on one side of an imaginary line and another on the

other? If we take Luzon and keep the door of trade open on it while the Spanish maintain their old monopolistic tariff on the other islands, what constant friction and clashing and upheaval would surely result. Far better, say the Spanish press, for Spain to give up everything and abolish her colonial office entirely, than to cling to fragments of the old colonial empire which it would be impossible to administer satisfactorily. Any suggested compromise either is impossible or will prove unstable. If we content ourselves with a coaling-station, well and good; but any extensive foothold and attempted government on one island or a part of it will mean endless disturbance and mischief, and our ultimately being obliged to take and rule the whole group.

All accounts agree that the maker of the treaty of peace with Spain will be, not the commission, not the President, but the Senate. In other words, the natural and constitutional order has given way to the politician's order. This is not the slander of an enemy, but the admiring comment of a friend, of Mr. McKinley's. It is the *Philadelphia Press*, inspired by its former editor, now a member of the cabinet, which said in its Washington dispatch on Tuesday:

"The President is also following his customary practice of seeking the opinions of United States Senators and statesmen who are giving the territorial policy of the United States their most earnest thought. It is believed that when the peace commission has been appointed, the President will have formulated a policy regarding the disposition of these islands that will meet with the approval of the country, just as his every step and policy with regard to the matter has been almost unanimously endorsed."

That is to say, the natural and constitutional order is completely reversed. Instead of initiative and prompting arising from the commissioners or the President and transmitted to the Senate, it is from the Senate that the whole springs; the Senate gives its orders to the President and he passes them on to his commissioners. No wonder that, under these circumstances, the correspondent quoted should be forced to add, "There seems to be some difficulty in securing satisfactory representation on the commission." Who would go to Paris, ostensibly a negotiator, but really a clerk of the Senate?

Mr. T. Estrada Palma, the agent of Cuba Libre in this city, says, in an interview, that, "It may be only a question of time when the people of Cuba will wish annexation, but at the present time there are many, especially among those who went into the field against the Spaniards, whose aim and ambition is independence. Any policy of the United States which attempted to force annexation

before the people are ready for it might cause considerable internal trouble." This sentiment of Mr. Palma will find an answering echo in all parts of the United States. In the confusion of tongues regarding Porto Rico and the Philippines we perceive no demand for the annexation of Cuba, although this island, regarded as a cash possession, is worth more than all the other material objects involved in the war. It is a rich and beautiful country, and can be made as salubrious as any in the world. It is a civilized country, and it lies at our own doors. We have large interests in it, and our trade with it is large and will soon be enormous. Yet we went to war with Spain under a solemn promise not to annex the island, or to do anything with it except to restore peace and leave the inhabitants free and independent. That promise must be carried into effect, and it will be all the more gratifying if we have the cooperation of the Cuban insurgents to that end instead of their hostility. When Gen. Garcia sulked because he was not allowed to occupy Santiago with his forces, and withdrew from our lines and tendered his resignation to Gen. Gomez, we apprehended that we might possibly be compelled to put down the insurgents after expelling the Spaniards; but if Mr. Palma speaks by authority, that danger has passed away.

The promulgation of a new tariff for Cuba by the War Department is to be taken as significant of the future policy of the Administration. The measure is of course a temporary one, but it is not likely that it would have been adopted without the consent of the great protected interests. Assuming that consent, it would appear that a long step towards free trade is about to be taken, for the new tariff practically recognizes the principle of the "open door." The United States and Spain are placed on the same footing as other nations, all discriminating duties being abolished. This will of course tend to reduce the exports from Spain to Cuba by removing the preferential rates enjoyed by these exports, and to increase the exports from the United States by abolishing the exceptionally heavy duties by which they were hindered. In general, the new tariff applies to all imports the lowest duties existing under the Spanish rule, which were those on imports from Spain, but in some particulars even these rates have been reduced. The tax of one dollar on each ton of merchandise either imported or exported, in lieu of other tonnage taxes, is abolished, a much lower scale of port charges being adopted. On provisions the new duties will unquestionably encourage exports from the United States. On wheat flour

the duty will be not much more than a dollar a barrel in our money, a most merciful cheapening of food to the Cubans under the present circumstances. The schedules are full of unreasonable taxes, which must presently be modified, but under the regulations now to prevail Cuban commerce ought at once to revive.

The question of our own tariff on imports from Cuba is necessarily raised by these customs regulations. By the act of our military authorities we have secured much more favorable terms for our exporters than they obtained under the "reciprocity" arrangement that was tried some years ago, while we have granted no corresponding concessions to the Cubans. If we granted favorable rates to Cuban exporters when they were under the rule of Spain, we can certainly not refuse them now, when we have driven out the Spaniards on account of their oppressions. That would be in effect a discrimination against free Cuba as compared with Cuba enslaved.

Congressman Bland was allowed to preside over the Democratic State convention of Missouri last week, but his views were rejected by the platform committee. His conception was that the free coinage of silver should be kept in front and made the leading issue in politics. He did not favor territorial expansion. He was opposed to the present annexation of Cuba or Porto Rico or the Philippines, although he would not close the door to any accessions of territory that might come to us in an honorable way. Gov. Stone took a different view altogether. He favored the immediate annexation of Porto Rico, the independence of Cuba, to be followed by annexation if the inhabitants desire it, and the establishment of coaling-stations in the Philippines. The committee on resolutions coincided with Gov. Stone, and as to the silver question merely reiterated in a general way their adherence to the Chicago platform. A wink is as good as a nod to a blind horse. This action in Missouri will be accepted by Democrats in other parts of the country as evidence that silver is no longer the leading issue in politics. The question may be asked, What is the leading issue? It is easier to ask the question than to answer it. If the Democrats drop silver and go in for territorial expansion and a big navy, the Republicans will accuse them of stealing their thunder. Consequently there will be no issue. It is a significant fact that as the Democrats lose courage in dealing with the money question, the Republicans gain it. The Republican convention of Nebraska on the same day with the Missouri Democratic came out squarely for the present gold standard, thus marking a decided advance since their last previous deliverance.

Wyoming is a very small State, so far as population goes, but it counts for as much in the United States Senate as New York or Pennsylvania, and its attitude on the financial question is therefore of consequence. Although silver mining is of little importance in Wyoming, its people have sympathized with the free-coinage propaganda of their neighbors, and so recently as two years ago the Republican State Convention adopted a resolution that "we favor the free coinage of gold and silver into standard money, as expressed in our former platforms, under such legislation as will guarantee that all our money shall remain on an equality." Now, however, the same party holds another convention, and declares that, "the financial policy of the Republican party having brought prosperity to the entire country, and given us a place among the nations of the earth, and enabled us to conduct successfully a foreign war, we unhesitatingly reaffirm the financial plank of the platform as expressed by the national convention at St. Louis." Such a change of base is highly significant and encouraging.

Mr. Croker won the first round of his struggle with Mr. Hill for the control of the machinery of the Democratic party of this State with comparative ease. The chairman of the State committee discovered, after a brief examination of the situation, that few members of the committee were venturesome enough to antagonize Mr. Croker's personal wishes. The reasons are obvious. Mr. Croker has behind him the enormous patronage of the city of New York, and his rivals in the contest for leadership have no patronage whatever. It has been thought by some observers that Mr. Hill would develop superior strength in the committee because he represents the American sentiment of the party as opposed to the foreign sentiment which dominates Tammany Hall; but sentiment of all kinds gives way in the presence of patronage. No man can hope for a nomination for any office, Governor, Senator, Judge, or member of the Legislature, against Croker's personal wishes. His patronage makes him supreme. Senator Murphy does not venture to antagonize him, for he knows he cannot be re-elected to the Senate without the aid of the Tammany members of the Legislature. Boss McLaughlin of Brooklyn invariably falls in line when Croker needs him, for a slice of patronage always quiets his doubts upon any line of party policy. If the Tammany and Brooklyn contingents of the State committee are not sufficient to give Croker control, he has no difficulty in picking up what supporters he needs in Buffalo and other cities in which the American sentiment cuts no figure in the party management.

The complications which have arisen

in the attempted sale of nearly \$13,000,000 of its bonds by the city of New York are discreditable, but are unfortunately what may be expected under such rulers as the city now has. For a long time the Corporation Counsel was busily employed in rendering opinions to the effect in the first place that no bonds could be legally issued, and in the second place that some bonds might be legal, but just how many no one could tell. Finally it was decided to ask for bids for bonds to the amount of between \$12,000,000 and \$13,000,000, and the result is what might have been expected. The city having disparaged its own credit by questioning the legality of its securities, some of the bankers very naturally made their bids conditional on the establishment of this legality. Naturally, also, these conditional bids were the highest, and very naturally the other bidders, who had made no conditions, claimed that conditional bids were not admissible. The Comptroller has awarded the bonds to an unconditional bidder, with the certainty of a resort to legal proceedings. The whole affair is characteristic of the kind of municipal government that our party organization gives us.

Russia is not saying as much as Germany and France and England about "expansion," but she is quietly doing the expanding. And her expansion is of the irresistible kind, because it is not overseas, but contiguous and continental. Behind it is the push not merely of a great and youthful people, conscious of a mighty future, but that of an astonishing industrial development. Russia's opening of the trans-Caucasus regions and of Siberia is comparable to nothing but the conquest of our own Northwest, and there is the striking difference, as Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu pointed out, that this work of colonization and civilization has been done by Russians unaided. Not by foreign immigrants but by the activity and enterprise of natives, have the railways been thrown forward and the farms opened and the mines exploited. And with it all has gone a vast enlargement of manufacturing to supply the new markets thus created. The extraordinary advance of Russia in shipbuilding is set forth by Col. Sir G. S. Clarke in his recent book on 'Russia's Sea Power.' Twenty-five years ago foreign assistance had to be freely sought by the Russian navy. Now all her sea-going battle-ships are native-built. In gun construction the Russian works on the Neva are up to the best modern standards. In this rapid growth of power to construct a modern fleet, Russia has, says Col. Clarke, "accomplished a task which might have been deemed impossible." Expanding thus along natural lines, and with every advantage in position and aptitude and purpose long cherished, it is obviously out of the question for England to check



the steady advance of Russia in North China.

The situation in which England finds herself in the Chinese controversy is very clearly described by a writer in the *Contemporary Review* for August. The cardinal fact of the whole situation in the Far East is, that if the programme that England has laid down is to be carried out and not abandoned with much humiliation, she stands committed to an immense future empire in China. As Lord Salisbury has said, the English Government does not ask for cessions of Chinese territory or seek to engage in commercial ventures. But the English Government will support its subjects when they engage in these speculations, and it is in precisely this way that the dominion of England has been enlarged: first the English trader, and then, when the natives of the countries which he penetrated turned on him, the English soldier. This has been the history of the British empire in India, and this will have to be the history of the British empire in China, if the policy which has been announced is to be carried out. The "understanding" with the Chinese amounts in effect to a British protectorate of the great Yangtse valley, comprising nearly three-sevenths of China proper, and supporting a population estimated to number 185,000,000. It is conceivable that if the Chinese Government were capable of efficient action, it might accept the protection of England, and in that event a successful resistance might be made to the aggressions of other Powers. But the Chinese Government is thoroughly rotten, the Mantchu dynasty effete, and the indications are that the English protectorate is not desired. In India, after the French were driven out, England had a free hand, and has had to meet only internal opposition. In China the case is very different. To maintain a Chinese empire is going to be much more of a task than to maintain an Indian empire, and those who have England's prosperity most at heart may well tremble at the task which the Jingoese are laying out for her.

The status of laborers in countries subject to British rule is by no means satisfactory. There are many "protected" states where slavery exists, the British authorities regarding it as a "domestic institution" with which they cannot interfere, just as the Government of the United States formerly regarded it in the States of the South. The Mohammedan religion recognizes slavery, and in India in states nominally independent, but under British protection, slavery remains, although the slave trade has been abolished. The complaints of the anti-slavery societies in England were so loud that slavery was abolished as a "legal status" about a year ago in the islands

of Pemba and Zanzibar, but a similar course has not been followed in the mainland, where Lord Salisbury says the conditions "call less urgently for relief." Sir Arthur Hardinge, who represents the Foreign Office at Zanzibar, furnishes many familiar arguments to prove that emancipation is not a blessing to the slaves, but, as the London *Daily News* remarks, that is irrelevant. There is only one safe course for the British Government to pursue: an absolute and unalterable refusal to recognize the lawfulness of slavery for any purpose or in any shape. "It is the path of safety because it is the path of honor." Personal liberty is the primary test of civilized rule. As to the argument that barbarous people are better off as slaves than as freemen, the *News* effectively replies to it with the story of the English traveller who cross-examined a fugitive from the Southern States during the American war. Was his master cruel to him? Had he been beaten, starved, or otherwise ill-used? No, he had not. Then why had he run away? "Well," said the man of color, "I guess you'll find the place still vacant if you care to apply."

The appointment of Mr. Curzon as Viceroy of India must be regarded as satisfactory by the Jingoese. It can hardly be said that Mr. Curzon has attained distinction as a diplomat. He is a comparatively young man, and he has not displayed the qualities which contribute to diplomatic success in any marked degree. It may be urged that the duties of the Viceroy of India are administrative, but the position is essentially one that requires diplomacy of the highest order. The relations of the Indian Government with the home Government are far from simple, and those with the numberless states and peoples within and without the Indian empire are excessively complicated. The Jingoese, however, do not want diplomacy, but aggressive action, and Mr. Curzon suits them because he is known to favor the "forward" policy in dealing with the frontier tribes. His books on Central Asia have made him an authority on the conditions which prevail there, and it is reasonable to assume that when he takes the reins of government in India, the policy of chastising the hill tribes into submission will be continued. At least, we may expect that there will be no withdrawal of the British forces from regions which they have occupied, and the burden of military expenditure is likely to be increased at a time when it is very desirable that it should be lessened.

In this connection it is worth while to call attention to a remarkable speech recently made at Simla by Mr. Thorburn, Financial Commissioner of the Punjab, at a meeting at which the Viceroy was present. Mr. Thorburn began

by saying that he had for years watched with foreboding the progressive development in the policy of expansion along the northwest frontier, which culminated in the outbreaks last year. In putting down these disturbances 2,000 lives were lost, and the bill to be paid by "pauper India" was about two and a half millions sterling. Life, said Mr. Thorburn, was cheap in India, but money, especially good money, was always dear. The constant outpouring of treasure on never-ending frontier wars meant the prolonged starvation of the civil administrations. Every war of this kind involved a wholesale impressment of men and animals in the Punjab, carried on without system or discrimination, and causing great suffering to the unfortunate population. In the recent campaign 25,000 men and 100,000 animals were impressed. Mr. Thorburn denied that the Pathans had revolted. There could be no revolt where there was no subjection, and he contended that the tribesmen were almost as free now as in the days of Alexander. The gist of Mr. Thorburn's speech was that the policy of expansion was intolerable, because there could be no end to it, and disastrous to India from its costliness. In view of the ravages of plague, pestilence, and famine from which the country is still suffering, and also of the difficulty of settling the question of the monetary standard which is now imminent, the maintenance of the "forward" policy must be regarded as ill-boding.

The value of the rupee of India is now nearly 50 per cent. greater than that of the metal of which it is composed. When the coinage of silver was discontinued in 1893, the rupee was worth 15½d. So much silver had been lodged in the mint in anticipation of the decree that the price of the rupee followed the price of silver downward to 13d. Then the decline stopped, although silver fell somewhat lower. Next the rupee began to rise very slowly. It is now worth 16d. This was the figure at which the Government agreed to give rupees in exchange for gold. Now we are told by a letter to the *London Times* that the 50 per cent. premium which the rupee bears over the silver bullion contained in it has led to counterfeiting by means of stamping-machinery imported from Germany for the purpose, and also by native silversmiths. The counterfeit coins contain exactly the same amount of silver, and of the same fineness, as the genuine ones. How extensive this counterfeiting may be is not known. If the Government is not able to put a stop to this illicit coinage, it may be forced to take away the legal-tender quality from the rupee. This would be a rather serious step, since the counterfeit pieces would continue to circulate among the poorer and more ignorant classes, who would suffer losses accordingly.

## THE TERMS OF PEACE.

Spain has accepted all of our terms of peace, subject to the ratification of the Cortes. Under the Constitution of the country, no part of the national territory can be alienated without such ratification. Similarly, any treaty made with Spain must be subject to the ratification of the Senate of the United States. There can be no doubt that the Cortes will ratify the agreement. There can be no doubt that the Senate will ratify it on our side. Not to do so would be equivalent to starting a new war to gain something over and above the objects which we set out to accomplish.

The terms require Spain to relinquish all claim of sovereignty over or title to the island of Cuba, and to evacuate the island immediately. She is also to cede to the United States Porto Rico and all the other islands under Spanish sovereignty in the West Indies. The difference in phraseology indicates the purposes of the Administration. It implies that Cuba is not to be annexed to the United States. She is to be an independent republic, for the present at all events. The experiment of self-government is to be tried, and if it succeeds fairly well, there will be no disposition to make the island part of the United States. Porto Rico may or may not be incorporated with the United States. Spain cedes the island to us, and we can do what we please with it. It is for Congress to decide what disposition shall be made of it, since that body is vested with the power "to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States."

In view of the fact that we can do as we like with this island, Congress may choose to establish a protectorate over it and leave it to some form of self-government. Otherwise we shall be obliged at once to admit the tobacco and other products of the island free of duty, and this may lead to some serious complications. There is no apparent reason why we should not treat Porto Rico as England treats Barbados, Trinidad, and her other West Indian islands, leaving them free to establish their own fiscal system. In that way we shall have the use of any coaling-stations that the island can afford, and we can fortify them by agreement, just as we could have fortified Pearl Harbor in Hawaii, if we had elected to do so, before it was annexed. Another reason for not annexing Porto Rico is that if it becomes an integral part of the United States, it must have in time due representation in our Congress and in our electoral college. The population of Porto Rico is close upon one million inhabitants. That is, it exceeds in numbers any New England State except Massachusetts, and any trans-Missouri State except Kansas, Nebraska,

and California. If it were made an integral part of the United States, it would be entitled to two Senators and six or seven Representatives.

The cession of the island of Guam in the Ladrões is a matter of small moment except as it puts upon us a new and distant responsibility. The question of the Philippines is left for future determination. The control, disposition, and government of those islands are referred to commissioners to be named by the United States and Spain. We regret that the President did not settle this question at once. Public opinion is now in a plastic state. It would have ratified whatever decision the executive branch of the Government might have announced. If Mr. McKinley had followed what seems to have been his original inclination—to demand a coaling-station only and then come away—there would have been substantially no opposition to that course. The Senatorial gladiators, Foraker, Chandler, *et al.*, would have been knocked out. But now they will gain their second wind, and may be counted on to make a good deal of trouble. All that can be predicted about the eventual decision is that we are not likely to have a renewal of bloodshed on account of the Philippines. After Spain has yielded all that we went to war about, and more, it would be monstrous to go to fighting again for something that we never contemplated in the beginning.

It is a source of gratification that there is no word in the negotiations about a war indemnity. The American people do not want any money from Spain. Nor can it be assumed that Porto Rico was accepted in lieu of an indemnity. Porto Rico has no cash value to us. The only object of getting Spain out of that island is to remove a possible future occasion of quarrel. If we wanted a coaling-station in those waters, the island of St. Thomas was offered to us for \$2,500,000. A war indemnity, if we had been so base as to demand it, would have been at least \$200,000,000.

What these changes and acquisitions will bring to us cannot now be predicted. Spain, however, is likely to be a gainer. She will no longer be under the necessity of spending \$100,000,000 per year, besides pouring out her best blood in Cuba. A frightful source of corruption will be removed. Her eyes have been opened to the need of internal reforms. If she has the virtue and the wisdom to profit by the lessons of the last few months, the war may prove to be a blessing in disguise.

## HAULING DOWN THE FLAG.

The advocates of annexation of the Philippines say that "where the flag has been once raised it must never be hauled down," and they impute a want of patriotism to all who do not parrot the same cry. This is one of the cheap sub-

stitutes for sound thinking. It is a catchword based upon Gen. Dix's famous dispatch to New Orleans: "If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot." Yet it has no more value in determining a wise foreign policy than the phrase "dollar of the fathers" has in determining a sound financial policy.

It is put forth as though it were maintainable at all times and places, yet a little historical retrospect will show that such is not the case. The American flag was once erected in the City of Mexico by our military forces, with the sanction of our Government. It had previously waved over the cities of Vera Cruz, Matamoros, and many other Mexican towns. Yet when that war came to an end and the army was withdrawn, the flag was hauled down and brought home. It was not left flying over the halls of the Montezumas. Nobody protested against "lowering" it or "hauling it down." If anybody had raised the cry that is now so common in men's mouths, he would have been considered "a little cracked." Keeping the flag flying in Mexico after we had accomplished all that we went to war for, and more, would have committed us to an act of depredation that nobody contemplated or was prepared to sanction.

A more modern instance is the hauling down of the flag at Hawaii in 1893. The American flag had been hoisted over the Government building in Honolulu in an irregular and illegal manner. President Harrison, although he had not previously authorized the transaction, improved the occasion by proposing to the Senate a treaty of annexation, and, while it was pending, he very properly "disavowed" the raising of the American flag on the Government building there. The flag represents sovereignty. We possessed no sovereignty in Hawaii; therefore our flag was in the wrong place. It should have been hauled down. Mr. Harrison soon afterwards went out of office, and Mr. Cleveland withdrew the treaty of annexation from the Senate. Then the flag-raisers, who had not previously noticed Harrison's words about the flag, spread the report that Mr. Cleveland had hauled it down, and went into mock heroics on that subject and "kept up the racket" for about two years. Finally they found that the public were not very much interested in Hawaii, and they began to cool off. At the end of the Cleveland administration there was no sufficient desire for Hawaiian annexation in the country to warrant a plank in favor of it in the St. Louis platform. The project was absolutely dead, and not even President McKinley was able to revive it until the war with Spain broke out and Admiral Dewey won his victory at Manila. Then the feeling began to prevail that we needed a station midway in the Pacific because we had acquired one on the other side



of the Pacific. That incident, and that only, secured the annexation of Hawaii in an irregular and devious if not unconstitutional manner. The hauling down of the flag from a place where it ought not to have been erected was universally approved.

The flag has been raised over Santiago de Cuba. It is flying there now. Both Congress and the President contemplated this result as one of the consequences of the war, yet they publicly declared that the flag should be hauled down as soon as peace should be restored to Cuba. There was no division of opinion on that subject. Now the cry against hauling down the flag applies just as much to one part of the conquered territory as to another. It ought to apply to Cuba more than to any other, since we went to war on account of Cuba. All our sacrifices, all the blood spilled, all the treasure wasted has been for Cuba. Yet we stand pledged before God and man to leave that country free and independent; which means that our flag shall come down as soon as the people of Cuba form a government for themselves. There is every reason to believe that such is the present aim and intention of President McKinley and his Cabinet. Hauling down the flag will, in this case, be preserving the nation's honor and keeping the nation's faith.

But it is evident that the Philippines rather than Cuba are present in the minds of those who are clamoring about the flag and protesting against the ignominy of hauling it down at any place where it has been once raised. If the flag is to be kept flying only in the place where it has been raised, it will cover only the entrance to the harbor of Manila or at the most Manila itself. This is not what they intend. They mean that we should assume that we have acquired a territory on the other side of the globe as large as New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, and require Spain to yield it to us because we are stronger than she is. This is "the highwayman's plea that might makes right" (to quote the words of the first Republican national platform), velled under a bogus patriotism borrowed from Gen. Dix's famous dispatch.

The difference between Gen. Dix's dispatch and the pinchbeck imitation of it is that the former represented truth, honor, union, everything that stands for love of country. The latter stands for nothing under heaven but greed of gain. No patriotic feeling, like that which Gen. Dix voiced, can be stirred for a country that never belonged to us. The only nerve of ours that the Philippines can touch is the pocket nerve. It is true, some people honestly think that we ought not to turn the Filipinos over to Spain because Spanish government is bad. These people, however, are not the ones who are worrying themselves about

the flag. They see no desecration or humiliation in quietly removing it from a place where it does not properly belong—a place where it was carried in an accidental way because we happened to be engaged in a war about something else. These people would be entirely satisfied with any arrangement that would secure good government to the Philippines. With them the missionary feeling predominates, and they hastily assume that, although we totally fail to provide good government for the Indians at our own doors, and although we put ourselves under the government of Croker in our chief city, and employ Aldridge to superintend our public works, we should, nevertheless, succeed in the benevolent intention of bestowing good government on the Filipinos 10,000 miles away. This idea would be sufficiently absurd in any case, implying that we should prize them so highly as to send them better governors than we choose for ourselves; but it becomes absolutely grotesque in view of the fact that the Filipinos do not want our government at all, and that our land and naval forces stand ready to fire on them at any moment.

The plain and simple rule about the flag is that it ought not to be hauled down from any place where it ought to remain, and that it ought to be hauled down from any place where it ought not to remain. This is the application of common morality and common sense to our dealings with foreigners. Whether they be strong or weak makes no difference, except that we ought to use more circumspection and put more restraint upon ourselves in dealing with the weak.

#### SETTLING WITH ENGLAND.

When the arbitration treaty with England was rejected last year, the narrowness of the vote showed that the Jingoism had won a barren victory. The significant fact was that the Senate appeared by a nearly two-thirds majority to be in favor of settling all outstanding questions between the two countries peaceably. Indeed, the vote meant chiefly that those Senators who make most of foreign affairs were unwilling, not to make any settlement at all, but to surrender the control of any settlement that might be possible to judges or arbitrators or any outside body. Taking advantage of this fact, the Administration has been able without much difficulty to arrange a joint high commission, which—subject to ratification by the Senate—will shortly consider almost every outstanding Anglo-American question. The scope of its business is Canadian, because these questions are in the main Canadian. Indeed, there is only one first-class outstanding question between the United States and England which is not altogether Canadian. That

is the question of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, which for several reasons will very likely in the end be settled by being let alone.

The action of this commission will constitute a most important landmark in the history of our relations with England. There is hardly a question committed to it for which the old-fashioned Anglophobe would not have been ready three or four years ago, at least, to threaten war. There is, for instance, the boundary question. A boundary question is full of possibilities in the way of war. "54-40 or fight" was once considered a trumpet-call to arms, and that was over a Canadian boundary question. It is only the other day that we were ready to fight over a boundary dispute in South America, to which we were not a party. Pelagic sealing is one of the questions referred to the commission, and a few years ago the relations between the two countries on this subject were so embittered that a *modus vivendi* had to be devised by their executives lest war should actually break out, whether we wanted it or not. Now we are willing to discuss, not sinking, but buying out the pelagic sealer. Add to these the transportation question, and the alien-labor question, and (last but not least) the reciprocity question, and we have a list of subjects which have in them the promise and potency of a hundred years' war. Why have they got to be settled, when only half-a-dozen years ago little Jingoism were taught by their papas and mammas to pray to God that one or other of them might speedily involve us in carnage and slaughter? Why are we settling such questions peaceably, or at any rate trying to do so?

Whatever the reason is, and of course there is more than one, of one thing there is no doubt, that a more complete *volte-face* has never been seen in foreign affairs than the one which has been made in Washington in our dealings with England since Mr. McKinley became President. How hard it is to remember that there was a panic in Wall Street only the other day over the danger of a war with England, and that one of the bugbears of the Cuban question for a generation or more was the longing of John Bull for the Pearl of the Antilles!

Mugwumps are, of course, amused to see the Jingoism masquerading as peace-makers, and amicably discussing the settlement of the very questions which they have been refusing to settle peaceably for twenty years or so; it would not surprise them if, in the end, Morgan, and Lodge, and all the rest of the old war-hacks, had statues put up to them for having pacified the world and destroyed the hydra of Protection by Reciprocity. Sir Robert Peel did away with the corn laws; why should not Dingley and McKinley establish reciprocity with Canada, while Morgan "opens the door"

in Hawaii? What we chiefly wish to call attention to is the extraordinary rapidity of the political change, coincident with the seemingly irrelevant incident of the war with Spain. Our war with Spain might give the English a wholesome idea of our prowess; but why should our great victory make us any easier on England? Instead of settling with her, we ought to be now browbeating and hectoring her more than ever.

There is only one way to explain the change, and that is by resort to the theory which we have always maintained, that there is between the United States and England an identity of interest and a similarity of institutions, and consequently of thought, and feeling, and aims, that makes them necessary friends, and will draw them nearer and nearer together as time goes on, provided they deal with one another as reasonable human beings do in their private affairs, and not on the principle that what either gains must be at the expense of the other. The case is so plain that the Jingo's attempt to obscure it has at last made it plain even to them.

For our part, we fully expect the settlement which has now fairly begun to go on until it embraces and disposes of the only outstanding question as to which the two nations can now be fairly said to be at loggerheads. The Nicaragua Canal question is the only one as to which, if we looked at the diplomatic action of the two countries, we should be inclined to say that an irreconcilable difference had been developed. It is true that England has refused absolutely to entertain the idea of a canal which we should be at liberty to close, while we have repeatedly insisted that any canal to be satisfactory to us must be a sort of fortified private toll-gate between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, which we could open or shut as we pleased. But the present Administration is silent on this head, and even the great publicist of the canal, Morgan, only says that we must "own" it—a demand to which no one has ever objected. Fortunately, too, the present war has shown the Jingo's an interoceanic canal on the other side of the world, actually open to the use of both belligerents, like the high sea, and, consequently, we shall no doubt soon hear that this country will guarantee the neutralization of the canal across the Isthmus, and Lodge and Morgan and Foraker and Davis & Co. will kindly explain that they have vindicated our claim to make a canal which shall be part of our "coast line," and at the same time part of the free ocean highway of the world in war and peace, and have thus disposed once more of the silly Mugwumps and bad Americans who spend their time in libelling our great men, and canting and snuffling about peace and commerce.

#### OPEN MARKETS AND FOREIGN POLICY.

New converts are apt to be zealous without discriminating, and it is not surprising that the adherents of the rising school of "Anglomaniac" should err in directing their admiration. Like the fashionable people, they have singled out external features for imitation, ignoring the fact that these features may not be typical and may even be abortive. They are impressed with the idea that the wealth of England is derived from her colonies, and that her colonies are held only by means of "seapower," and they infer that the future wealth of the United States ought to arise from colonial possessions, and that this country should, therefore, develop a powerful navy. This inference, however, is derived from a faulty induction, and the ideas which suggest it are themselves at variance with reality. The true causes of wealth and greatness are moral, and the empire of England has been created not by the speed of her ships or the weight of her guns, but by the character of her statesmen.

As Mr. Lecky has observed, the foundation of national prosperity is laid in pure domestic life, in commercial integrity, in a high standard of moral worth and public spirit. To form a wise judgment of the future of a nation, he continues, it is necessary to observe especially what qualities count for most in public life. "Is character becoming of greater or of less importance? Are the men who obtain the highest posts in the nation men of whom, in private life, and irrespective of party, competent judges speak with genuine respect?" The greatness of England is to be explained by the answer which is given to such inquiries as these, and not by the magnitude of her armaments. The great extension of her commerce is due to the application of the principles of free trade at home and abroad. The removal of the shackles of protective taxes and restrictions gave Englishmen such advantages in industrial development as no hostile tariffs availed to overcome, and in the growth of her foreign commerce her military power had no part. Free trade is not essentially a commercial idea, but a moral idea. It means the abolition of privilege, of favor, and of injustice. It requires peace and peaceful methods, and the military spirit is its deadly foe. The triumph of free trade in England meant the triumph of the idea of right as against the idea of might, and the rule of men of high character rather than the rule of military heroes.

These truths are emphasized by Mr. J. A. Hobson in an article in the August number of the *Contemporary Review*, entitled "Free Trade and Foreign Policy." He points out that the present Government in England is in spirit protectionist. The Tory party has never pretended

to accept the principles of free trade, and it has passed a number of acts during the last three years intended for the advantage of special social and commercial classes. Moreover, in its foreign policy it has abandoned the fundamental doctrine of free trade:

"The working principle it avowedly involves is the supposition that England must be prepared to 'fight for markets,' not only for the retention of our colonial possessions, but for new markets and for the acquisition of fresh territory, or, at any rate, for the exercise of such influence over weaker foreign nations as shall prevent them from giving to other nations trading advantages denied to us. This is misnamed the policy of 'the open door.' In truth, it is the policy of forcing doors open and forcibly keeping them open. Now, this use of the instruments of force in order to win foreign trade is a violation of the primary principles of free trade."

This position Mr. Hobson establishes as historically accurate by appealing to the authority of Cobden, who maintained that free trade and coercion were incompatible.

"Do you suppose," said Cobden in 1850, "that I advocated free trade merely because it would give us a little more occupation in this or that pursuit? No; I believed free trade would have the tendency to unite mankind in the bonds of peace, and it was that, more than any pecuniary consideration, which sustained and actuated me, as my friends know, in that struggle. And it is because I want to see free trade, in its noblest and most humane aspect, have full scope in this world, that I wish to absolve myself from all responsibility for the miseries caused by violence and aggression, and too often perpetrated under the plea of benefiting trade. I might say, when I hear those who advocate warlike establishments or large armaments for the purpose of encouraging our trade in distant parts of the world, that I have no sympathy with them. We have nothing to hope from measures of violence in aid of the promotion of commerce with other nations."

Mr. Hobson, however, is not content to rest his case on the authority of Cobden, or even on the authority of moral sanctions. He attacks the assumption that the foreign trade of England must be expanded by increased armaments and extension of the area of empire, and produces facts that dispose of this assumption completely. No nation can keep to itself the benefit of any exclusive market. Every nation in the past has had a "colonial policy" of this kind, which was found invariably unprofitable, and so it would be if other nations attempted to monopolize trade within certain "spheres of influence." The protection policy is adopted by every government except that of England, and the result is that the carrying trade is almost monopolized by English ships.

The maxim that trade follows the flag is shown by Mr. Hobson to have no foundation in fact. As was just observed, all foreign governments are protectionist, and yet the commerce of England with these countries increases more than it does with her colonies. The annual average of the value of imports from foreign countries from 1855 to 1859, as compared with that from British possessions, was as 76.5 to 23.5. With some fluctuations this average has gradually



risen so far as foreign communities are concerned, and in 1895-'97 the figures were as 78.4 to 21.6. The exports of British produce have varied correspondingly, the proportions for the first period being as 68.5 to 31.5, and for the latter as 70.1 to 29.9. In fact, the aggressive policy of recent years has been demonstrably unprofitable. The total value of the colonial trade was in 1875 about £161,000,000, and in 1895 but £171,600,000. But during this time the area of the British Empire has increased enormously. It has grown since 1883 from about 7,000,000 square miles to 11,300,000 square miles, and the number of inhabitants has risen from 305,000,000 to 433,000,000. Nevertheless, in 1883, the value of the trade with British possessions was £189,000,000 and in 1896 it was £183,000,000. In 1848, when Cobden first attacked the policy of increased expenditure on armaments, the total foreign commerce of England was £170,000,000, and it more than tripled its value in the next twenty years. During the last twenty-five years the policy of increasing military expenditure has prevailed, the cost rising from £24,065,000 in 1873 to £41,238,000 in 1897, while the value of trade has increased only from £682,292,000 to £745,422,000. In other words, while trade has increased 15 per cent., the "insurance premium" of military armaments has risen about five times as much. If progress continues at this rate, the burden of supporting the navy will crush the commerce which the navy is fondly believed to support.

#### THE CHINESE RAILWAY SQUABBLE.

Thursday's dispatches asserting that the Russian Ambassador in China had effectively blocked the English railway concession caused much uneasiness and even excitement in England, the *London Times* leading off with appeals to the Foreign Office to be up and doing at last, or be for ever fallen. What may result in the way of party differences and possibly international difficulties it is impossible to say; but a short account of the matters in controversy and the position of the British Government may at least serve to show what the quarrel is about.

Lord Salisbury, on August 1, and Mr. Curzon, on the day following, made elaborate statements in Parliament, reviewing the whole situation. The Prime Minister gave a succinct narrative of the facts and a somewhat longer explanation of the attitude and intentions of the Government. His speech was in accord with the best English traditions. He denied that it was the duty of her Majesty's Government "to trace out plans for railways in foreign countries, to construct railways in all directions, to find capital and capitalists, and so forth." There was a general impression, he admitted, that this was one of

the new obligations of Government, but there was no authority for it; Parliament had never sanctioned that doctrine, and, for his part, until the people through Parliament gave different orders, he proposed to adhere to the old established view that "the duty of the Government in foreign countries is to give protection and, so far as in their power lies, assistance to British subjects who have commercial or other enterprises to conduct, and to take care that they are not treated with injustice or illegality."

What else would the country have the Government do? Was it to drag British capitalists forward by the scruff of the neck and make them invest in Chinese railways whether they wanted to or not? Lord Salisbury said he had not been able to discover the crush of British investors demanding an opening for their funds in China. In fact, he had found British subjects decidedly averse to venturing money there. Several concessions had gone begging for lack of British capital to take them up. The reason was that English business men were exceedingly shrewd, and knew their own advantage better than the Government did. The money they had put into railways in Turkey and in South America they had invested under a guarantee of the local government. They could get no such guarantee from China. In the first place, the Chinese Government did not want the railways. In the second place, if a guarantee was forced out of China, it would be worthless, for there would be no money to pay it with. Under these circumstances, Lord Salisbury said, he did not blame British capitalists for being cautious about going into Chinese rails. If other governments wanted to build railways in China with their own money, let them do it. The British Government had never done such a thing, and was not prepared to do it now. It stood for the open door of trade, and would stand for it; but it had no authority, and did not propose to ask it, to use public funds to build or guarantee a railway in a foreign country.

As for the New-Chang railway extension, for which a British syndicate had a concession nearly completed, the Prime Minister said he was prepared to defend to the utmost every contractual right that English subjects might acquire. Then he informed the Lords of the now famous dispatch to Sir Claude MacDonald in Peking, asserting the readiness of the British Government to support the Chinese "in resisting any Power which commits an act of aggression on China on account of China having granted permission to make or support any railway or public work to a British subject." This was regarded as very firm and satisfactory, and it is difficult to see what more could have been asked. What Salisbury had in mind was the interference

of the Russian Ambassador with this English railway scheme. The latter had insisted that China should not allow the railway to be mortgaged as security—that is, had undertaken to prevent the English syndicate from floating bonds to get money to build the road at all. "Don't give in," was the substance of Salisbury's dispatch, "and we will stand by you in fighting Russia, if necessary." But China has preferred to give in. It does not want to fight Russia, with or without England's aid. M. Pavloff has apparently carried every point, has killed the English railway concession, and probably also got his hands upon the still more important Belgian concession (from Peking to Hankow); and Russia is in a fair way to fulfil the prophecy gloomily made by Mr. Colquhoun in his recent book, 'China in Transformation':

"A few years hence European Russia will be linked to the Pacific. Her Siberian and Manchurian provinces will be joined through Southern Manchuria with the Liaotung peninsula. The hinterland of that peninsula will be traversed by railways, its great mineral wealth will have entered upon the initial stage of development. The strategic positions—Port Arthur, Taitienwan, Kinchau—held by Russia, guarding this hinterland and commanding the inland Chinese waters, and dominating Peking and northern China absolutely, will have been completed. Korea will be held in a vise, to be dealt with later, Japan being meanwhile placated by an illusory free hand there, and being pushed southward on the 'room-for-two' theory. Germany will develop her hinterland from Kiao-Chau, and, by reason of her position in Europe and in China, will be a hostage to fortune in that place. . . . France, in the south, the junior partner in the Franco-Russian alliance, will continue her political programme, which is to drive in a wedge—not necessarily a territorial one—between Burmah and the Upper Yangtze. She will also endeavor to hinder our connections, through the western and northern hinterlands of Hong Kong, with Yunnan on the west and the Central Yangtze on the north. Japan, having come to an arrangement with Russia regarding Korea, has acquired a hold upon the Fukien province, with aspirations to a hinterland for that province, encouraged always by Russia. The next stage will be the Russian domination of Mongolia and, unless arrested by Britain, of Tibet also; and, should this come to pass, nothing can save northwestern China down to the Yangtze basin."

Whether this onward movement of Russia can be checked by Great Britain is more than doubtful; whether it is the interest of Great Britain to try to check it is at least open to question. If the trade of China is enormously developed, as it undoubtedly will be, England will get her share of the increase, though it is idle to hope, as Mr. Balfour confessed the other day, that she will retain her relatively preponderant portion of China's foreign trade. Great Britain now carries 82 per cent. of the total foreign commerce of China, and pays 76 per cent. of the dues and duties collected from it. That proportion will not be kept up. But if Russian trade in China enlarges, English trade in Russia will enlarge. At present, for example, 95 per cent. of the machinery used in Russia is made in England; and if Russia's manufactures are multiplied, her demands will also be multiplied. It is doubtful, however, if

these considerations will have the weight in England which they deserve to have. There is a strong section of the Conservative party most impatient for Government patronage of all sorts of foreign enterprises. If England could make a loan to China, they ask, why not a loan to an English railway in China? If the Government can own the Suez Canal, why not a railway from Burmah to Canton? The unfairness of the analogy is apparent, but many Englishmen are captivated by it. Even the *Times* tells Salisbury that his idea of the function of Government is antiquated. Mr. Chamberlain is the darling of this forward, meddling school. Lord Charles Beresford is its bluff spokesman. He declares that Lord Salisbury's open door is only a brick wall, and makes it clear that he would like to batter it down with 13-inch shells. But what he and Chamberlain and the forward Tories are more likely to do is to butt their heads against this brick wall; and the proverbial dangers of that collision are well known.

#### FRUITS OF MILITARISM.

The Dreyfus case has had the curious effect of directing the attention of the whole civilized world to the fact that there is no judicial system, outside that of England and the United States, under which a political or military prisoner, or indeed any one charged with a criminal offence, can be sure of a fair trial. So far as we know, there was nothing in the Dreyfus procedure for which a parallel might not be found in criminal trials in Germany, Italy, Spain, or a dozen other countries whose law is more or less Roman in origin. In Russia we may be pretty sure that Zola would not have had even the measure of success that has in Paris attended his efforts to reopen the "chose jugée." In Spain people are believed to be frequently shot without trial, and, among the causes of complaint which led to our making war against that country, by no means the least was the charge of a tyrannical system of criminal procedure (based on such cases as that of Dr. Ruiz) from which American citizens suffered. Gen. Lee, whom we sent to Havana to report on the state of Cuba, seems to have been much impressed with the atrocities of the "incomunicado" system, which leaves a prisoner to languish in solitary confinement, for weeks or months, without any trial at all. This, however, is an almost essential part of the system of all other countries than the United States and England. In them what we call the preliminary examination—with us a mere form, leading to the prisoner's declaring himself innocent and being bailed to await trial—still embodies the primitive struggle to make the prisoner confess, which is represented by torture in China, and by imprisonment and private examination falling little

short of torture in countries like Spain and France. These countries cling to their system as we do to ours. The utmost relaxation that we could ever get Spain to make in favor of American citizens in Cuba was the shortening of the *incomunicado* term to a period of nearly three days and nights, a stipulation, according to Gen. Lee, by no means faithfully observed.

It is a consequence of this fundamental difference between Anglo-Saxon countries and the rest of the world that, in our diplomatic intercourse with them, we have to be constantly vigilant lest our citizens suffer from the injustice of their criminal procedure. It is one of the constant heads of diplomatic correspondence and a common subject of negotiation and convention. We are perpetually being called upon to rescue American citizens from the clutches of foreign governments which have perfectly just causes of complaint against them, but whom we suspect of an intention to deny them a "fair trial."

By a fair trial we mean neither necessarily a trial by jury nor one protected by our system of evidence; but simply that a prisoner accused of crime shall be brought to trial speedily, that he shall be allowed to know the charge and the evidence against him, and meet it with his own, and that the court which tries him shall be free to acquit or convict, and shall be governed in its decisions by the evidence, and not by fear or favor. In all Oriental countries, hitherto, we have assumed a fair trial by native tribunals to be impossible, and have insisted on special courts more or less under our control. In Europe, except when Turkey is concerned, we rely on the local tribunals to do justice, but there is always behind this reliance an implied threat that we will not permit any American citizen to be punished by the courts of any foreign country except after a fair determination of his guilt or innocence.

This principle is also a principle of English diplomacy, and it sometimes leads the diplomatic intercourse between England and the United States to rather grotesque consequences, as in the case of Mrs. Maybrick, where there was a perfectly fair trial, but where some Americans thought the charge of the judge harsher than that of an American judge under similar circumstances would have probably been. But even in such cases our right to make representations and inquiry is not denied. The right to be protected is so sacred that it is better that it should be occasionally vindicated with an excess of zeal than not at all.

But when we say that Zola cases and Dreyfus cases are impossible nowhere but in the United States and in England, we have not got to the bottom of the matter. The necessity of a "fair trial" has been recognized in actual practice in

Anglo-Saxondom for only two hundred years. Go back to the times of Henry VIII. or James II., and we find that the idea of a fair trial had not attained its present importance. Judicial murders and denial of proper opportunity to defend were every-day occurrences. Why is it that the idea has made such headway with us, while in the rest of the world it has made so much less? Fifty years ago there was an attempt on the Continent to copy the Anglo-Saxon judicial system by the introduction of trial by jury. This showed at least that they were on the scent of a better criminal system. What has happened since to put them back, or at any rate to prevent their continuing their progress?

We can think of no cause but the recrudescence of militarism. Certainly there can be no dispute that whenever the state has been in the past essentially military, the Anglo-Saxon notion of a fair trial has never obtained a foothold, and in England itself the idea was little more than a germ until the military was succeeded by the free modern commercial régime. The Dreyfus case makes it extraordinarily plain exactly how a thoroughly military community must view criticism of a trial which raises a doubt about the procedure adopted by the state. What they have in their minds is the ideal, not of justice, but of discipline. We have in France a perfect specimen of what we might call an attempt at a de-civilized state—that is, a state in which military are taking the place of civil ideals. By making every one a soldier, they have confirmed Frenchmen in the notion, which their whole history had made it difficult for them to throw off, that a trial is not machinery for the ascertainment of truth so much as a mode of discipline, and that consequently an acquittal is defeat for the state, and tends to promote breaches of discipline, even if none in the case itself has been committed.

In the Dreyfus case those who defend the action of the Government fall back in the last resort on the plea that a board of distinguished and honorable officers could not convict an innocent man knowingly. The difficulty with this defence is that it precludes the necessity of judicial inquiry. A trial in which anything but proof is produced as proof is an unfair trial. If Dreyfus were an American citizen, we should see this in a moment. "What!" we should say, "torture an American citizen in a pestilential tropical prison, when all you can tell us about it is that half-a-dozen generals, on evidence which they don't produce and won't produce, and which he has never seen or had an opportunity of answering, say that 'on their honor' he is guilty? And this you have the impudence to call *res adjudicata*? No, no. Reopen the case, or you will hear from us further." The peculiarity of



the Dreyfus case is that it is the very type and exemplar of the unfair trial of subject by despot, which the old militarism fastened on half the world, and the new militarism dangles before our eyes as proof that an age of blood and iron and wrong has again dawned.

#### THE HILL MEN OF THE PHILIPPINES.

LONDON, August 2, 1898.

Few island groups are peopled by so many diverse races as the Philippines, and seldom within such narrow limits are to be found so many various types as in their chief island, Luzon. Ethnologists appear to be agreed that the aborigines of this group were the Negritos, or Aetas, as they are locally called, who are now found in the mountain regions throughout the archipelago. The highlands of North Luzon are also peopled by a number of races forming independent tribes, the more important of these being the Gaddanes, Itavis, and Igorrotes, subsequent settlers, who were in their turn dispossessed and driven to the highlands by later immigrants of Malay origin, the Tagals and Ilocans. These lowland tribes of Luzon and the related Bisayans of the southern islands form the only section of the Philippine population conquered, domesticated, and converted to Christianity by the Spaniards; and at the present day, after more than three centuries of Spanish domination, one-fifth of the native inhabitants of Luzon and one-fourth of those of the southern islands are practically independent, while in the large island of Mindanao only small portions here and there along the coast are occupied by Spain. It is, indeed, computed that in Luzon alone the "country of the infidels" extends over some four hundred and fifty square miles of territory. Within these limits very little agriculture is carried on, the inhabitants subsisting chiefly by the chase, and wearing little clothing beyond that furnished by the leaves, fibre, and bark of trees.

The Negritos are a dwarfish race with skins almost as dark as African negroes, and curly, matted hair. Their features are of a low and exceedingly unprepossessing type, and their clothing consists merely of a waistcloth for the men and an exceedingly short and scanty petticoat for the women. Report brands the Negritos as a spiritless and cowardly race, never daring to face a white man in fair fight, but ever ready to discharge a quiverful of poisoned arrows at him from behind cover. The husbandry practised by them is of the most primitive description, the chase furnishing their chief food supply. Light-footed and agile, they climb the forest trees like monkeys, outrun the deer, and bring down their quarry with such simple weapons as a bamboo spear, palm-tree bow, and bamboo arrows. The Negritos are said to have been for a considerable period the sole masters of Luzon, exercising seigniorial rights over the earlier immigrants belonging to other races. Their number has, however, greatly decreased, and is said to be now rapidly diminishing.

These diminutive people live in communities of from fifty to sixty families. Like the domesticated natives, they treat the elders of their tribe with great respect and their dead with reverence. What religion they have appears to be a kind of cosmology, any natural object which chances to impress

their imagination becoming an object of worship. Extremely low in the intellectual scale, the Negritos seem to be hardly capable of civilization; and when, in individual cases, to a certain extent domesticated by European settlers in their vicinity, they can never be trusted to perform the simplest task without supervision. A longing for his old free mountain life may also at any moment take possession of a Negrito, and he suddenly disappears, never again to return. The repeated attempts made by the Roman Catholic missionaries to Christianize these tribes as the first step towards subduing and domesticating them, have been invariably unsuccessful, the cessation of the food supplies which temporarily attracted a few to the mission-stations always being the signal for their return to their own people and their ancestral cult.

The ancient and widespread custom of bride-purchase appears to be common to all the races and tribes of the Philippines, and, among the Negritos, simulated capture also forms part of the marriage ceremony. When the preliminaries have been settled between the parents of the contracting parties, and the wedding guests are assembled, the bride runs off into the woods, and is pursued and brought back by the youth. A second time she escapes, and is again captured. Her father now seizes the bridegroom by the arm and hauls him up the bamboo ladder into the hut, the mother following with the bride. Here the first part of the ceremony is performed by the paterfamilias, who souses the youth and maiden alternately with water from a coconut shell. On again emerging from the hut, the couple kneel down side by side before their parents, and the father, pressing their heads together, declares them to be man and wife. A feast is, of course, held, after which the newly wedded pair disappear to spend their honeymoon of five days in the seclusion of the mountain forests.

The Gaddanes and Itavis, who are found in the northwest provinces of Luzon, are hardly less barbarous than the Negritos, and very little effort appears to have been made by the Spaniards either to convert or to subdue them. The Gaddanes are a fine, dark-skinned race, with long straight hair falling over their shoulders, fierce and aggressive in disposition and nomadic in habit. The youths of this tribe, when desirous of marrying, vie with each other in presenting to the father of the maiden of their choice the skulls of his enemies, the most valiant attaining the prize. These head-hunts take place chiefly during the season of the blossoming of the "fire-tree"—one of the many magnificent flowering forest trees of the island, the blossoms of which are of a brilliant flame color; the bursting of its buds being the signal for the warriors of this race to set out on their marauding expeditions, which are inaugurated with special religious rites. The weapons of the Gaddanes, though primitive, are somewhat formidable. A fully armed warrior carries a long lance with trident tips, arrows fitted with two rows of teeth made of flint or sea shells, and a hatchet of peculiar shape. His shield, which is narrow and rectangular in shape, has at either end two handles or projections, between which he catches a flying enemy by the neck and hurls him to the ground. Roots, mountain rice, fruit, game, and fish, which they spear with the trident lance above described, form the staple food

of these highlanders, who, in this fertile land, find their simple wants supplied with little exertion on their part. The neighboring tribes of Itavis greatly resemble the Gaddanes in most of their characteristics, but are of lighter complexion and less fierce and bloodthirsty in disposition.

The Igorrote tribesmen are spread over a considerable portion of the northern half of Luzon. They are a tall and muscular race, large-limbed and broad-shouldered, but somewhat clumsily made, with flat noses, wide nostrils, thick lips, high cheekbones, and copper-colored skins. Some of them are slightly bearded, and they wear their thick hair cut short across the forehead and long behind, where it is decorated with a curious cylindrical ornament from the extremity of which hangs a kind of tasselled fringe. Their full dress consists of a waistcloth, short sleeveless jacket, and cape made of palm-leaves. Civilization possesses no greater attractions for them than for the Philippine hillmen generally. Their dwellings are queer, beehive-shaped huts. They are indolent in their habits and practise but little husbandry. Polygamy is permitted among them, but is not indulged in to any considerable extent. Adultery is infrequent, and when a woman is convicted of it, the dowry paid to her parents by the husband is restored and she is divorced. Murder is, however, extremely common within the tribe, and family vendettas are maintained. In the province of La Isabela, on the east coast, a regular debtor and creditor account in heads is said to be kept; also between the Igorrotes and the neighboring Negrito tribes.

Incursions of the Igorrote hillmen into the lowlands and coast settlements have for centuries past been of frequent occurrence. Issuing from their mountain fastnesses, these Eastern caterans swoop down on the villages, carrying off to their own ranches the cattle and other possessions of the domesticated natives. The first important military expedition against them was organized in 1754 by Captain-General Arandia, who sent into the mountains of north Luzon a force of over a thousand men. During this and the following year their country was overrun by the troops, their ranches were destroyed, their crops laid waste, and many of the hillmen taken prisoners. But notwithstanding these reverses, the spirit of the tribes remained unbroken, and all hope of securing the permanent allegiance of the Igorrotes was for the time abandoned by the Spanish authorities. In 1881, however, Gen. Primo de Rivera placed himself at the head of a considerable body of troops, with which he invaded the lands of the Igorrotes with the intention of reducing them to submission and opening up their country. But this expedition failed ignominiously. The force employed was not large enough to carry on the war *à outrance*, and the feeble efforts made by the invaders excited the contempt of the tribesmen and gave them courage to defend their threatened liberties, while at the same time the license indulged in by the Spaniards at the expense of the mountaineers, whenever an opportunity offered, showed them the value of the invaders' protestations as to the benefits to be derived from Spanish rule. Since this abortive campaign the Igorrotes have been even less approachable by, and more distrustful of, their European neighbors than before, though its originator and leader, a court fa-

vorite, was rewarded for his endeavors by being created "Count de la Union."

The tribe of apparently mixed breed known as the Igorrote-Chinese are believed to be descended from the followers of the famous corsair Li-ma-hong, who, on the defeat of their leader in 1574 by Juan de Saluda, took refuge in the hills. Inter-marriage with women of the Igorrote tribes has generated a species presenting quite unique and by no means amiable characteristics; the fierceness of these Luzon mountaineers being blended with Mongol astuteness and cunning.

The Tinguianes, who occupy the north-west inland province of El Abra, though nominally subject to the Spanish Government, are practically semi-independent. The villagers and rancheros elect their own headmen, who occasionally, and very much at their own convenience, pay their respects to the nearest Spanish governor and receive his instructions. These, however, they carry out in accordance with the traditional usages of their respective tribes, and, as a rule, apply their own customary laws in preference to those of the Spanish code.

Though these Tinguiane tribes have become nominally subject to Spain, they have as a body resolutely refused to be Christianized, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts made by the friars for their conversion. When any of their number have allowed themselves to be baptized, the motive has been traceable to convenience rather than to conviction, and in the seclusion of their ranches and villages they continue to follow the cult of their forefathers. They have no temples, their gods being enshrined in mountain caves. They believe in the efficacy of prayer to these deities for the supply of their natural wants; and if the rains have been too heavy or not sufficiently so to suit them, the *Anitos* are approached and exhorted like the saints of the Roman Calendar. When a child is to be named, a priest carries it into the forest, and, placing it against the trunk of a tree, strikes a knife into the bark over the infant's head, uttering at the same time a name. Should the sap flow, the name is considered good; but if not, the ceremony is repeated until the oozing sap announces the approval of the sylvan deity.

The Tinguianes are monogamists, and their espousals take place before the couples have attained the age of puberty, the parents of the bridegroom purchasing the bride at a price mutually agreed upon. By their laws adultery is punishable with a fine of \$30 and divorce; but if there has been adultery on both sides, the parties are divorced without the imposition of a fine on either side. In the neighborhoods exposed to the attacks of the Guinuanis, their hereditary foes, the dwellings of the Tinguianes are built in high trees, or raised on posts, from which they hurl down heavy stones on their assailants. Where life and property are more secure, their huts resemble those of the Tagals, with the addition of buffaloes' and horses' skulls hung with other charms over the doors and other apertures, to scare away all things harmful. These tribesmen are tall, well built, and not unhandsome, having good features and slightly aquiline noses. In intelligence and general capacity they are not inferior to the general run of the domesticated natives. Some can read and

write a little, and, like the Tagals, they are exceedingly fond of music. They delight in ornament, tattoo their bodies in elaborate patterns, blacken their teeth, and dress their hair, Japanese fashion, into a tuft on the crown of the head.

Little information is obtainable as to the present attitude of these various races and tribes of hillmen. Forming, however, as they do, no inconsiderable proportion of the population of Luzon, they will hardly be found to prove a negligible quantity in the settlement of the Philippine question now imminent. The opening up of the country must naturally follow the occupation of the island by any Power less effete than Spain. This will at once bring its pioneers into contact with the denizens of its almost unexplored mountain regions, and the question must inevitably sooner or later arise as to the submission or continued independence of the hillmen. In the event, however, of any such coöperation between the British and the Americans as has been suggested, in the form of joint protectorate or otherwise, these hillmen might prove of the greatest service in the pacification of the island, for many of the tribes are, as has been seen, fine fighting men, taller and more muscular than the Tagals. Treated as similar hill tribes have been in India by British officers, they might be induced to enlist in regiments in which their services would probably be as valuable as have been those of the enlisted hillmen of India. Of course, were there any chance of the Tagals being able to form a civilized government capable of dealing justly both with the native hillmen and with the European merchants and others, one could only wish it all success. But I believe that no one really acquainted with these Filipinos believes that there is any possibility of a native government being successfully established for many years to come, if ever.

## Correspondence.

### COALING-STATIONS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The plea of a necessity for having coaling-stations is made a pretext for demanding the permanent occupation of ports in the Ladrões and Philippines. It is a specious cover to justify the extension of our dominion over the sea, and is Beaconsfield's policy (in spirit) of extending the boundaries of the empire to secure "a scientific frontier" that always recedes before the advance of the British army. The argument is as plausible as that which persuaded the Donna Julia to permit "a Platonic squeeze"—the first step that led to her fall.

In time of peace every foreign port is open as a coaling-station; in war, coaling-stations, to be available, must be held by a superior force; otherwise the enemy takes possession, as we have done of Manila and Santiago. These were Spanish coaling-stations when the war began. Of what military value have they been to Spain? Simply to get two fleets destroyed that were employed in defending them. It cost us less to capture them than it did Spain to hold them for us in peace and lose them in war. When the Spanish fleets were defending these ports, they could not be engaged in destroying our commerce elsewhere.

The holding of coaling-stations is there-

fore a source of weakness in war, like guarding the base of supply and its line of communication with an army. The force detached for this purpose is so much deducted from the offensive power of a nation. Dewey captured the Spanish fleet; but Manila has captured Dewey and the army of 20,000 men we have sent there to hold it. Spain would rather see our squadrons cruising around Cuba and the Philippines than blockading Cadiz and Barcelona. It would be more economical to buy our coal in foreign ports in time of peace, and to capture them in war, or compel an enemy to guard them strongly and save us the expense and trouble of governing them. The same squadron cannot hold one port and at the same time attack another. Spain's experience with colonies and ours without them prove that in war they are a weak point in a political system.

The supremacy of Spain was broken in Cuba and the Philippines by the destruction of her fleets; there was no military reason for keeping our naval squadrons there or sending armies to hold them. The Spanish soldiers, like Napoleon's army in Egypt after Nelson's victory of the Nile, were virtually prisoners, although they had not gone through the form of surrendering. All the operations at Manila, beyond destroying the naval forces of Spain, were directed to a political, not a military purpose—to gain military occupation in order to extend political authority as a prelude to annexation. *Beati possidentes*—happy are those in possession. There can certainly be no strategic reason for sending an army seven or eight thousand miles to conquer a country over which Spain has lost control, or for Dewey's squadron remaining there after the Spanish fleet was at the bottom of the sea.

JNO: S. MOSBY.

SAN FRANCISCO, August 6, 1898.

### THE COTTON CROP.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: "In a dry year they underestimate the cotton crop, in a wet year they overestimate it." This saying is a truism, and the present season will furnish another exemplification of it. Predictions have in former wet years been made of a ten-million crop that turned out one of seven million bales. The present cotton year is what is termed a wet one. The rains have been abundant, and the cotton plant is very large, with stalk and leaf of a gorgeous green color. The prophets all predict a twelve-million-bale crop—a yield greater than that of the past year, which was the greatest in the history of the country.

The large stalk and abundant leaf are unquestionably at the expense of fruit. The plant is fruited not nearly so heavily as at the present time last summer. This fact, taken in connection with this crop's decrease in acreage, makes obvious the falsity of such enormous estimates.

The two past crop years were "dry ones." These same prophets vehemently declared that not half a crop would be made, that the drought was burning the plant up. They forgot that cotton is essentially a dry-weather plant, and that while the stalk was not so large, nor the leaf so gorgeous, the fruit was "making." Extraordinary crops resulted.

The present cotton crop promises to be a good one of about ten and one-half million



bales. This will insure not a high price, but a fair one, and one that will be remunerative to the grower. W. COLLIER ESTES.  
MEMPHIS, TENN., August 13, 1898.

## Notes.

"Then build a new, or act it in a plain," was the old advice of playhouse "critics of less judgment than caprice." But the accumulation of books and the fresh production of them make similar counsel mere common sense to librarians and cataloguers. The British analogue of our 'Publishers' Trade List Annual'—namely, the combined catalogues of the chief houses engaged in the manufacture of books—known as 'The Reference Catalogue of Current Literature' (London: J. Whitaker & Sons; New York: The Publishers' Weekly), has at last perforce split itself into two volumes, each still huge enough in all conscience, being six inches in thickness. To say that this work has again appeared would be sufficient for those who appreciate the enormous value and convenience of such collections; but it is proper to remark on the subject- and author-index which is prefixed to the 'Reference Catalogue.' In view of the large number of English houses which have branches on this side of the water, such an index supplements usefully our 'Publishers' Trade-List Annual,' which dispenses with one in default of time or money for its production. The 576 pages of this laborious index demand the gratitude of all who seek a clue to the maze of intellectual output in the mother country.

A partial list of D. Appleton & Co.'s autumn publications embraces the late Charles A. Dana's 'Recollections of the Civil War'; 'Admiral Porter,' by Prof. James Russell Soley; 'Our Country's Flag,' by Edward S. Holden, with illustrations; 'The Earth and Sky,' by the same author; 'The Scientific Memoirs of Thomas Henry Huxley,' edited in four volumes by Prof. Michael Foster and Prof. E. Ray Lankester; 'The Story of the Railroad,' by Cy Warman; 'Philip's Experiments, or Physical Science at Home,' by Prof. John Trowbridge of Harvard; and 'Spanish Literature,' by J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly.

Doubleday & McClure Co. will publish during the autumn 'Flashlights on Nature,' life histories of familiar insects and plants, by Grant Allen; 'Birds that Hunt and are Hunted,' by "Neltje Blanchan"; 'The Butterfly Book,' by W. J. Holland, LL.D., with hundreds of examples in color photography; 'The Business Girl,' by Ruth Ashmore; 'What Shall Our Boys Do for a Living?' by Charles F. Wingate; 'Memoirs of 1812-13,' by Sergeant Bourgoynne, from the French; 'Life and Character of Gen. U. S. Grant,' by Hamlin Garland; 'Life Masks of Great Americans,' by Charles Henry Hart, in limited editions; 'Our Navy in the Philippines,' by John T. McCutcheon; 'The Life of Henry Drummond,' by George Adam Smith, D.D.; 'The Day's Work,' by Rudyard Kipling; and, in connection with J. M. Dent & Co., London, a Temple edition of Dickens's novels in forty volumes.

Henry Holt & Co. will shortly issue 'A Concise Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities,' edited by F. Warre Cornish, Vice-Provost of Eton College, with 1,100 illustrations.

D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, have in press

'American Indians,' by Dr. Frederick Starr, Professor of Anthropology in the University of Chicago, an illustrated work calculated for schools.

T. Fisher Unwin, London, announces for the fall 'Heinrich Heine's Last Days,' from the French of "Camille Selden"; 'The Last Days of Percy Bysshe Shelley,' by Dr. Guido Biagi; 'Leo Tolstoy; or, The Making of a Prophet in the Nineteenth Century,' by G. H. Ferris; 'The Autobiography of a Veteran [Gen. Enrico della Rocca], translated and abridged by Mrs. Janet Ross; 'Travels and Politics in the Near East [the Balkans], by William Miller; 'Through New Guinea and the Cannibal Countries,' by H. Cayley-Webster, with many photographic illustrations; 'Life of Man on the High Alps,' from the Italian of Angelo Mosso; 'The Annals of Mont Blanc: A Monograph,' by C. E. Mathews; 'The Early Mountaineers,' by Francis Gribble; 'The Welsh People,' by Prof. John Rhys and David Brynmor Jones; and 'The Correspondence of Princess Elizabeth of England, Landgravine of Hesse-Homburg,' edited by Philip C. Yorke.

The Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago, has brought out, in two pretty volumes, a reprint of Hazlitt's translation of Huc's 'Travels in Tartary, Thibet, China, 1844-6.' The fifty engravings on wood have been reproduced in facsimile, and are curious memorials of the art half a century ago. The Abbé's lively narrative has in the meantime lost nothing of its power to entertain. The work is indexed in an early fashion.

Prof. Moses Coit Tyler has put together in a little volume, bearing the title 'Glimpses of England' (G. P. Putnam's Sons), a selection from sketches of men and things which he contributed to this and other journals during his residence in England in the years from 1863 to 1866. They are pleasant reading; and the subject of England's knowledge of America and America's knowledge of England is so perennially interesting that Prof. Tyler has done well to rescue these impressions of his from the oblivion which threatens all periodical writing. His observations remain rather on the surface, perhaps; and we do not find it difficult to imagine the sort of ardent young democrat he must have been thirty years ago, or the sort of company he must have kept in England. Even Mr. Morley would hardly speak nowadays of John Bright's "towering intellect." Mr. Tyler, like many other good Americans, was pulled in two directions—now quivering with enthusiasm for the rights of the people, now rolling "baronial halls" under his tongue like a sweet morsel. But it is just this transparent simplicity, this absence of any straining after profundity, which will make his observations valuable to the historian of the period.

P. Blakiston & Son, Philadelphia, publish a timely monograph by W. C. Hollopeter upon not only 'Hay Fever,' the growing plague, but upon 'Its Successful Treatment,' a claim which many would be happy to believe justified. Notwithstanding a sensational golden-rod on the cover, a sectional illustration of the nasal cavities facing the title-page, and more confidence in methods than legitimate medicine is apt to proclaim publicly—which are matters of taste—the essay appears laid down on reasonable lines. It maintains that this distressing and substantially modern disease is a vaso-motor paresis, localized at the lower turbinated bones, and generally associated with constitutional

conditions. The treatment that ten years' experience leads the author to regard as substantially infallible is complete local sterilization of the damaged region, with reasonable general measures. The advantage it offers is relief from exile, and intelligent care, if not certain cure. Its essence is the complete and constant sterilization of the sensitive area.

There is no good reason for the army of trigonometry text-books which volunteer their services. None of them are excellent either from the point of view of the theory of functions (to which, and not to geometry, trigonometry belongs), or from that of the art of computing. J. W. Nicholson's 'Elements of Plane and Spherical Trigonometry' (Macmillan) has some petty yet distinctive merits—mnemonic devices—which induces us to mention it. It is prettily manufactured, too. The five-place tables do not even give differences, far less proportional parts. Of course, the book is not comparable to the completer treatise of Chauvenet.

Daniel Alexander Murray, in his 'Elementary Course in the Integral Calculus' (American Book Co.), "panders" a little to the new methods. If a book confined to the integral calculus and which yet hardly notices imaginary variables can be recommended, this may be said to be a good book.

The cosmopolitan character of our cities is nowhere so evident as in the public library. Nearly one-half of the August Bulletin of the Boston Public Library is taken up with a list of recent accessions of popular books in the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish languages.

Volume xi. of the *Publicationen* of the Astrophysical Observatory of Potsdam is noteworthy on account of two papers, "Measurement of the Nebula of Orion by the Application of Photography," by Prof. J. Scheiner, and "Investigations of the Parallax and Proper Motion of 61 Cygni by Means of Photography," by J. Wilsing. The editor, Dr. H. C. Vogel, in a preface, admits that these subjects do not, strictly considered, fall within the scope of an astrophysical observatory. He holds, however, that as German astronomers show so little interest in this application of photography, which has become of such great importance to astrophysicists, "an encroachment upon the domain of pure astronomy on our side seems not only permissible, but to be demanded." Other papers are on the appearance of the south polar-region of Mars in 1892-94, by O. Lohse, and observations of variable stars in 1881-85, by J. Wilsing. The concluding memoir, "Researches on the Absorption of Star Light by the Earth's Atmosphere," by G. Müller and P. Kempf, embodies the results of investigations made at Etna and in Catania.

The opening article of the *Annales de Géographie* for July is upon the world's cotton culture. It makes no pretence of being more than a commentary on the maps which accompany it. These show not only the extent of cultivation, but the relative amount of cultivable land used, and other facts. There is also the first of a series of articles upon the development of that historical enigma, London, and one upon the scientific work done by the Russians in northern Asia. In a scholarly treatise on Megara, M. V. Bérard brings forward cogent reasons for believing it to be the site of the Homeric island of Calypso. In the field of

pure science are articles upon the configuration of the land in the department of the Basses-Alpes, illustrated by photographs, and upon the hypsometry of northern Madagascar.

*Petermann's Mitteilungen*, No. 6, opens with an account of an exploration in the northwestern part of German East Africa, which is interesting from its testimony to the civilizing influence of the Germans upon the natives. A powerful Zulu tribe which has for thirty years laid waste, by its continual raids, an extensive region, has given up warfare for agriculture, and peaceful villages in the midst of fields of corn and sorghum are to be seen in every direction. Baron E. von Toll describes his proposed Arctic expedition to Sannikoff Land, an unvisited island or archipelago lying to the north of New Siberia. He starts next summer accompanied by three assistants, an astronomer, meteorologist, and topographer, and provided with dogs, reindeer, and ponies, and hopes to make a complete topographical and geographical survey of the archipelago and to return in 1901. Among the minor articles is a statistical account of Tomsk, which shows the intellectual and industrial activity of the Russians in Siberia. With a population of 52,430, Tomsk has twenty-three churches, including a mosque and three synagogues; a university, with a large and valuable library; and forty-four technical, girls', grammar, and primary schools, and a free public library. In the city and its suburbs are 281 workshops and factories, employing 3,042 workmen, and with an annual production valued at 7,590,643 rubles. The most important industry is brickmaking. In May, 1896, local self-government was instituted.

The Parisian aesthetic poster appears to have been the inspiration of a new French industry, whose organ is the magazine called the *Home-Décor* (Paris, 172 Quai de Jemmapes). The lithographic firm of Camis has conceived the idea of furnishing colored wall-panels for home decoration. Reductions of these (copies of notable paintings) are given every month in the magazine in question, and are themselves capable of being applied as wall-paper if desired. Four of them accompany the first number before us, with suggestions as to harmonious surroundings, possible docking, etc. The color process is apparently not lithographic, but the half-tone three-plate scheme, well known in this country.

A happy thought has inspired the founding of a central medium for scholarly discussion of the enormous mass of Greek papyri discovered of recent years in Egypt. Ulrich Wilcken of Breslau is to conduct the new *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und Verwandte Gebiete*, with the aid of many German, English, French, and Italian specialists, who, as well as occasional contributors, may write in any of the languages just named, or in Latin. The prospectus, which comes to us from B. G. Teubner, Leipzig, lays stress on the sub-title, the "allied domains" of learning, which are not to be neglected for exclusive consideration of papyri finds. The *Archiv* will begin with the new year.

An address on the development of the *Lehrfreiheit* in German universities, delivered by Prof. G. Kaufmann (Breslau) at the meeting of German historians at Nürnberg, has appeared in print (Leipzig: Hirzel), and will be a surprise to those who

have been under the impression that that famous privilege was an inheritance of earlier and better times. The author shows that *Lehrfreiheit* was unknown in mediæval universities, and down to the eighteenth century, as long as the universities were independent corporations. It was through the authority of the state, and the will of individual rulers, that the baneful tradition of Church and corporations was broken. That governments and princes have at times arbitrarily interfered with the freedom granted by them is well known.

As a number of Americans have pursued the study of Herbartian pedagogy at Jena—formerly under Prof. Stoy, and, since his death in 1885, under his successor, Prof. Klein—it may be worth while to bring to their notice a contribution to the history of Stoy's beneficent and self-sacrificing activity, viz., Dr. A. Wollberg's 'Bilder aus dem Leben einer Volksschule' (Jena: Frommann). Moreover, this account, by Stoy's last *Oberlehrer*, of some of the truly admirable features of school life under the management of that eminent educator, cannot fail to be of interest to all students of educational affairs. No other single instance, perhaps, is more characteristic of the earnest spirit prevailing in the Johann-Friedrich-Schule than the annual celebration, among memorial days, for educational purposes, of the 14th of October, "on which day, in 1806, German men shed their blood on the hills of Jena without saving their fatherland from degradation and shame."

The university-extension movement (*Volks-hochschulbewegung*) in the larger cities of Germany seems to hold its own and even to grow in scope and importance. In Berlin, where the plan of organizing courses under the lead of the University was last winter frustrated by the action of the University Senate, a committee of University professors has perfected arrangements for the coming winter which will soon be announced to the public. Aside from this, the Humboldt Academy has for some years been active in a similar direction. The *Volks-hochschulverein* of Munich has just made its report, from which it appears that from October 25 to March 31 sixteen courses were given by members of the faculties of the University and the Technische Hochschule. Each course consisted of from four to twelve lectures, the total amounting to ninety-nine. The number of hearers had risen from 1,440 in the preceding year to 1,870 for 1897-98, of whom 513 were women. It is significant that the proportion of mechanics and laborers among the hearers fell during the period mentioned from about 30 per cent. to 12½ per cent.

In the matter of the higher education for women, it is to be reported that the city of Hanover will in the near future have a gymnasium for girls; while the institution having the same character at Karlsruhe will pass from the hands of a private organization into those of the magistrate.

We have already mentioned the fellowships for 1899-1900 to be awarded by the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, to wit, one for \$600, given by the Archaeological Institute of America; one for \$600, by the Managing Committee; and one for \$500, for the study of Christian Archaeology, by friends of the School. The applications of candidates must be made in writing not later than February 1, 1899, to Prof. Minton Warren of Johns Hopkins University,

who will supply circulars in which the conditions are fully set forth.

From F. Gutekunst, Philadelphia, we are more accustomed to receive photographic memorials of the dead than of the living, but he now sends us, in his admirable "imperial panel" series, a faithful portrait of Edward Everett Hale which may be recommended to all that author's friends and admirers.

—Mr. H. C. Russell, Government Astronomer of New South Wales, has made some interesting observations upon icebergs in the southern oceans, an account of which he gave recently to the Royal Society of that country. He compiles his information from certain nautical publications and from the logs sent him by the commanders of sixty-two vessels trading to Sydney. He gives a table wherein the drifting in and out of ice across the tracks of ships shows such remarkable variations as led him, years ago, to look for the causes of the movement. During six years, twenty ships in January reported ice, twelve in February, seven in March. The five months following had not a single such record. One cause for this he believes to be the prevailing northwest winds, which forced the bottles containing the reports away from the southern Australian coast, where a large number of these floating messengers find a resting-place. Another is probably the effect of these winds upon the icebergs themselves. With strong south winds ice seems forced northward into the tracks of vessels, while with constant northwest winds in the first four months of 1896, not one report of ice was received. It would be very helpful if ships would report the number of bergs seen—whether a few large ones or innumerable small ones. For instance, 4,500 icebergs were reported by one vessel, 376 by another, while one vessel passed through 1,600 miles of ice; but it would have been well to know if there were a berg in every square mile or in every ten miles square. If ships sighting icebergs on a fine day, with strong north or south winds, would heave to and watch them for three or four hours to see if they move with the wind, much additional and valuable data would be secured, and in time it might be possible to forecast the position of bergs between Africa and Australia with some approach to precision.

—New South Wales has nearly 1,500 stations for rain, river, and evaporation observations. The year 1896, for which very full reports are given, was unfortunately one of such severe drought all over the colony, except through two very small areas, that it was productive of great loss. The average rainfall for the whole colony was 22.26, or 12 per cent. below the average; but that means conditions far more severe than might appear from the figures. Many districts, notably those in the extreme west, suffered intensely, with an average rainfall from 20 to 63 per cent. below normal. The recording stations are scattered all over the country, though not uniformly. The heaviest average rainfall, 64 inches, is found on the Tweed River, just at the foot of a mountain range about 5,000 feet elevation, the proximity of high peaks aiding the deposit of moisture, since ordinarily greater distance from the sea decreases the amount of rainfall. During 1896, too, there was much less wind than usual—less, indeed, at Dubbo and Hay than during any other of the eleven years since the anemometers were set up.



Tabular statements are also given from the river gauges, with dates and heights of floods; the Darling, Murray, and Hunter Rivers being included. Experiments on evaporation have been conducted at Lake George, Dubbo, Nepean Tunnel, and other points, from which the general principle is evolved that the heavier the rainfall the less the evaporation. A new tide-table has been given, from which it may be seen that there are slight variations of mean sea-level from year to year. Difference in the pressure of the atmosphere occasions most of these changes, sea-level falling with a rise of barometer.

—The recent sale in Paris of the Tyszkiewicz collection was hardly less interesting on account of the personality of the collector than for the intrinsic value of the objects dispersed because of his death. Count Michael Tyszkiewicz was a Polish nobleman who for forty years was well known among all collectors of and dealers in Greek and Roman antiquities, as a man who wanted nothing but the best of the class of objects in which he was interested, who knew the best when he saw it, and was willing and able to pay such prices as would attract to him the objects he desired. Collectors knew him as a formidable rival, and dealers as one to whom they could most confidently offer a really fine thing if they were lucky enough to get possession of it. Having made Rome his headquarters since 1865, no one was more thoroughly familiar with the tortuous methods which must be followed in Italy and the Orient by those seeking to acquire antiquities of first-rate importance. His 'Notes et Souvenirs d'un vieux Collectionneur,' which has been lately reprinted by Leroux from the *Revue Archéologique*, forms a fascinating collection of anecdotes, revealing ways that are dark and tricks that are vain enough to put the "heathen Chinese" to the blush, though the suspicious will note that these stories have reference more to objects which the author did not keep than to those which he did, and suggest that his memoirs might have been made even more interesting, as well as more complete, had he chosen to tell all he remembered. Gifted with exceptional taste, a remarkably keen eye, a large fortune, and an aptitude for *finesse* in dealing which was rarely surpassed by any of those with whom he came in contact, he had all the qualities which go to make up the successful collector; and had he kept all the objects which came into his possession during his long career, it is probably safe to say that he would have left a collection which, within its range, would have been equalled by few public museums at the present day. But, having had the excitement of acquiring a rare specimen, and the satisfaction of studying it at leisure, he was not infrequently ready to part with it, and more than one museum has been made richer in consequence. Napoleon III. was among those who profited by his willingness to dispose of his treasures, and the museums of Paris, London, and Berlin have been benefited by it. Boston, also, has been a gainer, in the new and interesting development of its classical collections, having acquired last year the splendid Greek krater which was one of his most valuable possessions. As is frequently the case with collectors, his interest varied from time to time, though it seems to have been always in the direction of small antiquities of one kind or another, rather than large sculptures. Coins, medals, vases,

small bronzes, glass, gold jewelry, and silverware all appealed to him, and a glance through the plates of Froehner's 'La Collection Tyszkiewicz' will show the exquisiteness of his taste in selecting these as well as his success in getting them. During the last years of his life, he turned his attention to the most archaic forms of art, and a number of grotesquely primitive objects appeared at the sale as a result. But the possession for which he was probably most envied by other collectors was his gems. His collection of these was not large compared with others, even of private individuals, but it included some of the most beautiful and remarkable specimens of the Greek gem-cutter's art known, both cameos and intagli. That this fact was appreciated at the sale is shown by the price they brought, the seventy-five specimens there offered having been sold in one lot, according to the *Chronique des Arts*, for 106,000 francs—nearly one-third of the amount brought by the entire collection during a three days' sale.

—Some of the other prices are interesting as showing what keen competition there is nowadays for good examples of even the smaller arts of classical antiquity. An archaic bronze statuette of Artemis, inscribed, went for 20,500 francs; an extremely archaic bronze statuette of Apollo, bearing an inscription in hexameter, 5,200; a bronze statuette of Aphrodite untying her sandal, 14,000; a terracotta vase, of the hydria shape, with figures painted in colors, 20,500, at which price (as we have already noted) it was bought for the Museum of Lyons. It is said, by the way, that the late owner placed a still higher valuation upon this specimen, the design upon it being of exceptional beauty and remarkably well preserved. As a whole, however, the vases were fewer in number and less important than those of the Van Branteghem sale in Paris a few years ago, the prices quoted ranging from 500 to 2,600 francs, except for the hydria just mentioned. The gold jewels brought fair prices, a few of the more notable being a ring of Mycenaean style, 1,390 francs; an Egyptian pendant, representing the god Noum, 5,900; an Etruscan parure, gold and garnets, 3,800; a pair of earrings, from Egypt, 3,800; a ring with the design of Hermes fastening his sandals, 4,100, and a diadem in enamelled gold, 6,100. The silver was no less successful, a Phœnician patera bringing 7,200 francs; the handle of an amphora, of Sassanian work, in the form of a winged ibex, 29,500, and so on. Altogether, the 312 pieces offered in the sale, including the gems, brought 358,866 francs. More interesting than the prices, however, would be the knowledge of the destination of the respective objects, about which we regret that we are not informed, because this would contain the more important lesson for the museums and collectors of our country. Whatever has been secured for public museums is, of course, lost to the market for ever—at least, within reasonable limits. Such things as have gone into private hands may be offered again for sale here and there at some future date, but the lesson of experience is that the prices will increase steadily as the opportunities for acquisition diminish. Of the permanency of the demand there can be no question as long as Greek art continues to occupy a place in the artistic education of the modern world. The soil of Greece and Italy is by no means inexhaustible, and just in proportion as the works of Greek, Roman, and Etruscan ar-

tists taken from it become rarer, the restrictions governing the removal of them from those countries grow more severe. It is to private collections more than to excavations that collectors now look for increase of their possessions, and the treasures of private collections are being rapidly absorbed into public museums, by purchase, gift, and bequest. The acquisition of valuable works of classic art for this country is becoming every year both a more difficult and a more expensive matter. When will our museums be in a condition to take full advantage of such a rare opportunity as that which has just been offered in the Tyszkiewicz sale?

—The rise of journalism in China is one of the most hopeful signs of the awakening of the empire from its century-long lethargic sleep. "Young China" has seized upon this Western mode of giving expression to its discontent with the present system, of denouncing the ignorance and corruption of the official class and of advocating civil-service reform. It is divided, according to a correspondent of the *London Times*, into two distinct classes, the "classical" and the "modern." The former is composed of the rising generation of the literati, men educated on the old conservative lines, but who now urge the introduction of mathematics and political economy into the curriculum of provincial graduates' examinations. The "modern" is "chiefly a product of America, Hong Kong, and the treaty ports," and has acquired the rudiments of an English education and a smattering of general information. Sprung from the lower middle classes, it detests the literati, and "freely advocates the collapse of the dynasty and the introduction of foreign rulers and foreign methods." Crude and selfish as are these efforts for reform in both these types of Young China, it is evident that the native press is slowly developing a public opinion which may exert a powerful regenerating influence in public matters. It is even now asserted that an imperial edict has been issued ordering that the official degrees which constitute the indispensable qualifications for office "are to be conferred in future upon examinations in modern subjects." Journalism is not yet a paying profession in China. So poor is the quality of paper used and so cheap is the labor employed, both literary and mechanical, that the price of the ordinary Shanghai journal is four cash (900 cash to the dollar), or, at the present rate of exchange, one-twentieth of a cent. A journal of higher rank, published only three times a month and in book form, costs about three cents.

#### TWO NEW EDITIONS OF BYRON.

*The Works of Lord Byron.* Edited by William Ernest Henley. [Vol. I.] Letters, 1804-1813. The Macmillan Co. 1897.

*The Works of Lord Byron.* A new, revised, and enlarged edition, with illustrations. Poetry. Vol. I. Edited by Ernest Hartley Coleridge.—Letters and Journals. Vol. I. Edited by Rowland E. Prothero. London: John Murray; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

There is certainly a revival of interest in Byron, both in England and in this country. There even seem to be signs that his fame, after some decades of obscurity, may soon become clear and steady, though it can never

regain its former meteoric brilliancy. We refer, of course, to his fame among men of his own race and language. On the continent of Europe there can be no Byronic revival, for the reason that there has never been a decline. English critics might do what they would to "bear" the market—our readers will perhaps remember Mr. Saintsbury's exploit in this line—Byron stock has always stood well in the literary and academic bourses of Germany and France. His poetry is very seriously studied at the universities; dissertations on Byron and Shakspeare, treatises on "Byron der Uebermensch," and the like, have abounded. A Breslau professor, long dedicated to these pursuits, is giving to the world, from time to time, editions of single poems, with a commentary which must make even the beatified shades of Ruhnken and his school grow green with envy. All this is highly significant. It was to be supposed that a writer who had once carried all before him throughout the civilized world, and who still continued, despite neglect at home, to be rated by Continental readers as the greatest of English poets next to Shakspeare, must have had some quality of permanence in his genius. It was even safe to predict that he would soon find native champions who would not hesitate to assert and defend his claim to all but the highest position. We might go on to express these phenomena—the continuity of Byron's reputation on the Continent and the incipient Byronic revival in England—in the usual and undeniably handy formulas "Romanticism," "reaction," "revolt," and so on, and we confess to the temptation. But this would lead us too far away from our present business, which is to examine an interesting concrete symptom of the revival in question. We refer to the opening volumes of two elaborate editions of Byron's Complete Works.

Of Mr. Henley's edition but one volume has appeared, containing the Letters from 1804 to 1813. It was published about a year ago, and we have been waiting, with some impatience, for the second, which is delayed in a manner so unaccountable as to suggest discouragement on the part either of the editor or the publishers. The Murray edition has begun more auspiciously. Two volumes have been issued—vol. 1. of the Poems, edited by Mr. R. E. Prothero, and vol. 1. of the Letters and Journals (to August 22, 1811), edited by Mr. E. H. Coleridge. There is reason to hope that the enterprise will proceed with some regularity to a not too distant conclusion. Comparison between the two editions, to be fair, must confine itself to the work of Mr. Henley and Mr. Prothero.

To begin with, Mr. Henley has an unbounded admiration for his author. Hero-worship is not too strong a term for it. His preface is defiant, almost vociferous, in asserting Byron's claims upon our attention. He is "the sole English poet bred since Milton to live a master-influence in the world at large." His "character and his achievement" are both "extraordinary," and "neither can be explained, or shouted, or sniffed away." And so on. There is no great harm in these dicta, which are immoderate rather in manner than in substance; but they disclose a posture of mind which makes the judicious reader apprehensive; and with reason. It is not merely that Mr. Henley's prepossession sometimes makes him unjust to his hero's contemporaries; the continual exaggeration of his style, the bectoring air

which he adopts, and his fondness for making a point are often offensive, and still oftener fatal to nicety of discrimination and even to accuracy. It is not pretty, though it may be true, to say, apropos of Leigh Hunt's assault on Byron, "If you lie down with dogs, you get up with fleas" (p. 438). It is bad taste, indifferent criticism, and "a foolish figure" to call Moore's Anacreon "a translation as it were into scented soap" (p. 378). It is ridiculous to speak of Byron's relations with William Gifford as an "alliance between leviathan and a blind-worm" (p. 326). In a letter to Hodgson (September 25, 1811), Byron, speaking of his forthcoming quarto, remarks: "It would not answer for me to give way now; as I was forced into bitterness at the beginning, I will go through to the last. *Væ victis*. If I fall, I shall fall gloriously, fighting against a host." The last sentence affects the editor deeply. "In the beginning, as to the end, that is," he comments, somewhat hysterically, "he was 'the passionate and dauntless soldier of a forlorn hope,' revealed in Matthew Arnold's Essay" (p. 377). It is hard to persuade one's self that such a comment is serious, but we believe that it is seriously meant.

And, indeed, with all his flippancy and exaggeration, Mr. Henley has a distinct and serious plan in his volume. "The years whose voice-in-chief was Byron" are, he thinks, "the worst understood in the national existence. . . . They gave to history a generation at once dandified and truculent, bigoted yet dissolute, magnificent but vulgar, artistic, very sumptuous, and yet capable of astonishing effort and superb self-sacrifice. It was a generation bent above all upon living its life to the utmost of its capacity." To know Byron one must know Byron's world. Hence it is the editor's purpose "to form," in his notes, "a collection of facts and portraiture which, by making for a juster apprehension of the quality and temper of Byron's environment, will make for a more intimate understanding of Byron's character and Byron's achievement." There result about 175 pages of commentary, in very fine type, on not quite 300 pages of text. All the usual canons of annotation are violated. The editor passes over in silence point after point which needs elucidation, and he dwells at great length on anything that strikes his fancy. Thus, in Letter 36 there are no less than two such points which he neglects, besides one other, easy of settlement, on which he confesses ignorance. In Letter 74 there are two or three more, and it would be easy to multiply examples. *Per contra*: in Letter 121 Byron casually mentions Pole, who "is to marry Miss Long, and will be a very miserable dog for all that." Whereupon Mr. Henley notes that Pole's story "is so full of insolence, adultery, thriftlessness, and the right Regency feeling for blackguardism and the Establishment, that I cannot choose but tell it with a certain particularity"—and this he accordingly does at a length of three pages and a half. Again, he devotes two pages to Gentleman Jackson, "sole prop and ornament of pugilism," and three more to Bob Gregson, the prize-fighter, and to the general subject of the manly art. Besides, many eminent persons appear in this volume, and it is Mr. Henley's method to write a combined anecdotal biography and character sketch of each, usually on his first appearance. At this rate it is not surprising that the space available for notes runs out, and

that the editor is obliged to "refer forward."

An odd instance of the fitfulness of Mr. Henley's annotation is his account of Robert Adair. Here nearly a page is given to a quotation from the 'Anti-Jacobin,' detailing a queer rhetorical blunder of Adair's. It is a diverting story, but it has nothing whatever to do with Byron, nor does it illustrate Byron's environment—the excuse which may be alleged for most of these gossiping excursions. But fitfulness and misplaced profusion do not exhaust the catalogue of Mr. Henley's editorial shortcomings. He is constantly guilty of the unforgivable offence of omitting his references. "Here is Byron on the event" (page 402); "Thus, too, Mme. Guiccioli, of a second encounter" (p. 303); "This was Leigh Hunt's first glimpse of Byron. He . . . noticed" (p. 307); "Is trounced in a letter by Charles Lamb" (p. 315); "See English Bards: 'Then let Ansonia, skilled in every art, etc.'" (p. 332); "Sheridan's Life of Swift"; "We shall find Byron begging Hodgson to ask Drury to kick him" (p. 345); "In Gray" (p. 423); "Byron told Medwin" (p. 453). These are the references of an essayist, not an annotator. They cannot be defended, even on the touch-and-go principle; for Mr. Henley in many other places, where he is equally touching and going, gives chapter and verse with great punctilio. And, besides, he does his best in this volume to be a dryasdust, often accumulating useless titles and dates (from the British Museum Catalogue?) and putting himself through other paces of the indiscriminate editorial compiler.

Blunders, also, are not wanting. We refer not to inaccuracies in trifles, unavoidable in so minute a commentary, but to examples of pure carelessness. Such are the printing of the same letter twice—once in the text as No. 9 (p. 10), and again in the notes to No. 8 (p. 301); the printing of certain notes under the heading of the wrong letter (pp. 300, 307); the misquotation by which "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers" is spoken of as "a poem of 250 lines" (p. 308); the insertion of Boatswain's epitaph at p. 305 instead of p. 326, where it belongs; the heedless repetition of Redding's story that Beckford's 'Vathek' was the work of "three days and two nights" (p. 334); the confused and incomplete account of Beckford's literary production (*ibid.*); the note on "Duck-puddle," unintelligible except to an English public-school boy (p. 358). Most surprising of all, however, is a note at p. 372. In a letter to Dallas (August 25, 1811) Byron writes: "I have also written to Mr. Murray my objection to sending the MS. to Juvenal, but allowing him to show it to any others of the calling" (p. 139). "Juvenal, that is, Hodgson," explains our editor, "who had published a translation of the Roman four years before." Now the letter immediately preceding is this very letter to Murray, and makes it perfectly clear that it was Gifford, not Hodgson, to whom Byron refers. The two passages, indeed, face each other as Mr. Henley's edition lies open before us! This exploit is to be matched only by Mr. Gosse's unblushing note on Keysler's 'Travels' in his edition of Gray.

In a word, Mr. Henley is not a good editor. He has not the talent, humble, perhaps, but pretty rare, of enlightening the reader unobtrusively. He is too nearly a genius for that lowlier function. Self-abnegation, self-effacement—at least in outward show—is the primal editorial virtue; and nobody has yet



counted this among Mr. Henley's qualities, nor is it an article of his creed. Indeed, his sympathy with the age of Byron is, we suspect, due to its boisterous assertiveness of individuality. As he himself says, in a passage already quoted, "It was . . . bent above all things upon living its life to the utmost of its capacity." Mr. Henley, then, is too much bent upon being himself to be a satisfactory cicerone in another man's gallery. The interest of the volume is divided between Byron and Henley. The line that should separate the author from the editor is frequently crossed. As an edition of Byron's letters Mr. Henley's book is something very like a failure.

Yet, by a curious freak of fortune, it is precisely the qualities that make Mr. Henley a bad editor that will secure his volume a place on the shelves of all who buy books. If he had been a careful, judicious, and finished commentator, he would have produced a volume which, in less than a year after its appearance, would have been made obsolete by the appearance of a more complete—and consequently a better—edition; for Mr. Prothero has had access to a vast deal of material which Mr. Henley could not use. As it is, however, what makes the incomplete Henley edition valuable is not the text, so immediately superseded, or the ordinary parts of the commentary, which Mr. Prothero is a better hand at, but the lively pictures of Regency life and manners which make up so large a part of the notes. Some of these are little masterpieces. They are the best reading in the world: full of variety and spirit, incomparably vivid, and, in places, almost distractingly clever. They ought to be read for themselves, not in connection with a text, and they will be so read, whatever may be the fate of Mr. Henley's edition as a whole.

We have said that the new Murray edition quite supersedes Mr. Henley's on account of its new material. A merely arithmetical computation makes this obvious. Mr. Prothero's first volume comes down to August 22, 1811, and contains 168 letters; for the same period Mr. Henley furnishes but 88. Mr. Prothero's manner towards his predecessor is perfect. "No one," he writes, "can regret more sincerely than myself . . . the circumstances which placed this wealth of new material in my hands rather than in those of the true poet and brilliant critic who, to enthusiasm for Byron and wide acquaintance with the literature and social life of the day, adds the rarer gift of giving life and significance to bygone events or trivial details by unconsciously interesting his readers in his own living personality." This was written under the spell of the superb bits of character-sketching for which we have already expressed our admiration, and it is, on the whole, a just and fine tribute. But we cannot share the regret which it evinces, for Mr. Prothero is a remarkably good editor. His information is completer and more accurate than Mr. Henley's; his care is as remarkable as the other's heedlessness; and he knows how to give his work the proportion and the unobtrusive finish which mark the last elegance of artistic annotation. It is indeed fortunate that this final and authoritative edition of Byron's Letters was entrusted to so steady and competent a scholar.

The first volume, as we have seen, contains eighty new letters. More than half of these are addressed either to Byron's half-sis-

ter Augusta or to Mr. John Hanson, the family solicitor. There are about thirty letters to the latter and more than twenty-five to the former. Few of them have any literary value, but their biographical importance is considerable. The letters to Augusta Byron are particularly interesting. Most of them fall in the years 1804 and 1805, so that they throw light on Byron's early relations with his family. In particular they illustrate, in painful detail, what he had to endure from his mother. The letters to Hanson are mostly brief notes, and all of a business nature, but most of them were decidedly worth printing. Of the other letters, several to Mrs. Byron add little to what we already know. Two, to one of Byron's Harrow friends, Charles Gordon, are interesting schoolboy effusions. Two to Hobhouse are of more consequence. All are pervaded with the strong personality of the writer. Besides this new matter in the text, the notes are enriched by more or less unpublished material from the Murray archives. The effect of the whole is certainly not unfavorable to Byron.

In one respect Mr. Prothero and Mr. Henley have both erred, and that is in not stating, definitely, the sources of their texts and the whereabouts of the MSS. at the present day. In at least three cases Mr. Henley has a fuller text than Mr. Prothero. One is in the famous Lisbon letter about Beckford (to Hudson, July 16, 1809), in which a starred passage is filled out from the original. Mr. Prothero's text is still adorned with the stars. In the other two (Henley, pp. 61, 125; Prothero, pp. 226, 318) there is nothing in the new Murray to mark the excision. The "cuts" are of no moment except in the Beckford letter. Happily, even Mr. Andrew Lang cannot ascribe them to "American squeamishness."

Vol. I. of the Poems contains "Hours of Idleness" and other juvenilia; "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers," "Hints from Horace," "The Curse of Minerva," and "The Waltz." The text has been determined with a care never before attempted. Manuscripts, early editions, old proof-sheets, and marginalia in Byron's hand have been diligently collated. There are two sets of foot-notes, one recording textual variants—why does Mr. Coleridge call them "*variorum* readings"?—the other containing the commentary, which is enriched with many hitherto unpublished remarks of Byron's own making. Mr. Coleridge's explanatory notes are, like Mr. Prothero's in the 'Letters,' admirably full and clear. In one important case, however, the problem of an *apparatus criticus* appears to have been too much for him. A comparison of the "Bibliographical Note" appended to the Preface (pp. xiv-xvi) with the Introduction to the "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers," and with the textual foot-notes to that poem, reveals something very like an imbroglio. The inconsistencies are certainly glaring, and the reference (p. xvi) to the forthcoming Bibliography in vol. vi. for "a complete collation of the five editions of 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers,'" looks like a confession of temporary defeat. The "Bibliographical Note" is, however, luminous and complete, and we can look forward to vol. vi. with confidence. This volume, which is to complete the 'Poetical Works,' will also furnish a much-needed index.

Vol. I. contains eleven unpublished poems—slight, unmeritable things, the sup-

pressed residuum of early scribbles. We have the promise of at least nineteen more, among them fifteen stanzas of the seventeenth canto of "Don Juan" and a fragment of the third part of "The Deformed Transformed." The silly stanzas "To Mary," on account of which the Rev. Dr. Becher induced Byron to withdraw his first collection, are, we observe, omitted. Mr. Henley apparently intends to print them.

In mechanical execution the new Murray edition is all that the most fastidious could desire. The only fault one can find with the typographical style is that in vol. I. of the Poems there is not quite difference enough between the type of the text and that of the foot-notes. In vol. I. of the Letters this detail has been attended to. The illustrations are pertinent and well done. In closing, we cannot refrain from remarking, with pleasure, on the imprint, "London: John Murray." This denotes an uninterrupted relation between Byron's Works and Byron's publishers, which began in 1812, with the appearance of the first and second cantos of "Childe Harold," and to which this new edition assures an honorable continuance.

*Sir Thomas Maitland. The Mastery of the Mediterranean.* By Walter Frewen Lord. With photogravure frontispiece and maps. Longmans, Green & Co. 1897.

"The Builders of Great Britain" series has taken for its motto the following devout and patriotic sentiment of Milton: "Thou who of thy free grace didst build up this Brittanick Empire to a glorious and enviable height, with all her daughter lands about her, stay us in this felicitie." To add another solemn strain, Mr. Lord finds in the prayer-book a phrase which gives the keynote of Sir Thomas Maitland's life. It is, "the safety, honor, and welfare of his Majesty and his dominions." While we have no design of reverting to first principles for the sake of analyzing either the growth or present character of the British Empire, we may observe that many agencies outside Milton and the prayer-book have been at work in the course of its erection. Mr. Hume's account of Raleigh revealed the play of obviously human forces, and in Maitland we meet a man whose private faults were only in some degree atoned for by the merit of his public service. Indeed, when one's notice is restricted to purely official actions, he is open to some censure. The fact that he was widely and sincerely hated in his own profession and among civilians by those whose loyalty equalled his own, proves that he fell short of the highest success even as a servant of the crown. Maitland was more than a "brutal tyrant"; but so coarse an element entered into his composition that he was unfitted by nature for becoming an ideal administrator. Mr. Lord dwells upon the nature of his ancestry. He came from a border stock inured to lawlessness through many generations. However softened this fiery strain might be by the burgher blood of a Norwich heiress, it was persistent. Fortunately, the work which he was given to do required toughness of fibre rather than humanity or conciliation.

The frontispiece, after a portrait by Hoppner, is of great value, both because Maitland's face is unfamiliar and because his features are an admirable illustration of the text. Allowance made for the artist's usual manner (and Hoppner is always feeling after strength), there yet remains a bulldog ex-

pression which suits well with a cannon in the background, and recalls Miss Earle's recent picture, "What we have, we'll hold." The left hand fingers the hilt of a sword; the right rests easily upon the cannon's mouth. Four decorations show that their owner has something to defend, and the visage is of one who may be most feared when he begins to be polite. Such a cast of countenance will explain any amount of enmity, but it bears promise of deeds like the fight of the *Revenge*. Looking at it dispassionately, we feel that the instinct of self-preservation is enough to justify Mr. Lord's concluding phrase: "May England never want for Maitlands at a pinch."

The paradox of Maitland's career is his singular parliamentary action during 1791-'94. After getting a taste of war in India and reaching the rank of major, he came home and was elected for the Haddington Burghs. During the critical years of the early French Revolution, he gave no hint of what his eventful course was to be. With a view to gaining prominence, he attacked the Government violently and unfairly. He talked what he knew to be nonsense about India and Tippee Sahib, he opposed vigorous measures in the Mediterranean, and he ranted on the subject of Magna Charta. He discovered the use of parliamentary obstruction, and "did not hesitate to take any step, however absurd and undignified, which brought him into notice." He had in his favor several of the resources which cause a free lance to be feared—facility of speech, courage, and a family connection. We may assume that he was fighting for his own hand because, having agitated some six years, he came to terms and abandoned his radical friends. Considering that Maitland was above thirty years of age when he took his seat, it is impossible to reckon his factious conduct at a time of danger among youthful vagaries. He was ambitious, and took a shorter cut to promotion than a consistent patriot would have done. Once enlisted on the side of the executive by an appointment to the San Domingo command, he threw his full ardor into a cause which was both his country's and his own. Successive posts of honor and confidence sobered and exalted him till, towards the end of his career, he was devoured with true zeal for the imperial cause.

Passing over Maitland's West Indian and American experiences, and the part which, without fault of his own, he played in the Belle Isle fiasco, we come to his first very notable task, the control and reform of Ceylon. He was then, in 1805, at his prime, and the obstacles in his path were of the kind to bring out his best qualities. He followed Frederick North, a Governor whose activity had been ill directed and whose amiable disposition failed to atone for a mistaken policy. Mr. Lord looks on Maitland's rule of Ceylon as the most agreeable part of his life. Later on, he grew "fiercely cynical," but at forty-six he was still full of zest and eager to justify the good opinion of the Colonial Office. We cannot enter upon an examination of his methods or of their specific results. Sir James Mackintosh's verdict, after travelling in the island, must suffice: "It is impossible for me to do justice to Gen. Maitland's most excellent administration, which I am convinced never had an equal in India."

While running on about Maitland's character and activities in general, we seem to be

losing sight of the matters which give him a place in this series. If his labors in Ceylon wear an imperial aspect, they were less closely connected with national greatness than was his management of British interests at Malta and Corfu. In the Mediterranean he was "King Tom." He had to do with plague, the Barbary States, the Holy See, and endless local aggravations, besides the standing difficulties attached to British sway in such an historic and complicated quarter of the globe. The chances of failure were many, and success could at the best be partial. The Ionian Islands were Maitland's crux. The ignorance, stupidity, and malice of the natives combined to make government trying, and to shape a constitution for such people would have taxed the adroitness of Sleyès. Recent Greek historians bear witness to the benefit which this part of the Mediterranean gained from Maitland's presence. On the other hand, the De Bosset case exhibits the Lord High Commissioner in a bad light. Perhaps Mr. Lord is right in saying that Maitland often fell to quarrelling out of sheer ennui. What would now be thought of an official in the highest rank who should so openly and gratuitously insult an officer that his Excellency's Secretary must try to explain the affront away by stating that his chief was drunk? And this for no other reason than that the said officer happened to be of foreign extraction.

Maitland issues from a sketch confined, like Mr. Lord's, to the events of his public service, more creditably than he would from a complete biography. Considered with reference to pure power, he was a force worth having on one's side. Were he the only kind of imperial agent England has had, the tradition of her rise to power would be less worthy than it is. If we except a little special pleading here and there, we can give Mr. Lord's essay hearty praise.

*Faith and Doubt in the Century's Poets.* By Richard A. Armstrong, B.A. New York: Thomas Whittaker. 1898.

The author of this little book is known to his Unitarian coreligionists in America as one of the most distinguished of their English preachers, the minister of a Liverpool parish, the limits of which, for purposes of social reform, are as wide as the city's. For anti-slavery people with long memories, he is the son of a father who, with the Carpenters and Greys, was in the van of that goodly company to whom our abolitionists never looked in vain for sympathy and co-operation. The six chapters of his book comprise, with some modifications and additions, a series of lectures delivered to an evening congregation. There is not the least attempt to extort from the several poets treated a confession of the writer's special creed, and there is little said of their relation to the particular theological opinions of any church or sect. Only in the concluding paragraph we are reminded that Shelley alone found it worth his while to fling himself scornfully upon the traditional theology. The others simply passed it by. Nothing is made in the lectures of Byron's "clarion of disdain," but in the preface there is an apology for this omission; while that of Coleridge is excused on the ground that his religious influence was through the medium of his prose. The arrangement of the lectures is independent of the chronological relation of the six poets who are discussed. It cor-

responds to the swing from denial to affirmation which gives us the alternation of Shelley and Wordsworth, Clough and Tennyson, Arnold and Browning.

In Shelley we have preëminently, says Mr. Armstrong, "the spirit of Revolt," and this spirit he illustrates mainly by the earlier and cruder outburst in "Queen Mab," and its more chastened and ethereal expression in "Prometheus Unbound." At the same time he is at one with Dowden, Symonds, and other devout admirers of Shelley in his insistence that Shelley was essentially more religious than the theology which was generally acceptable to the British mind in Shelley's day. Incidentally, in the lecture on Wordsworth, we have Mr. Armstrong countenancing the myth that Keats was snuffed out by a reviewer. We have an admirable interpretation of Wordsworth's doctrine of Nature as the sphere in which God and man are both reflected, and, being so, attain a ground of mutual comprehension and communion. It is in the "Ode to Duty" rather than in the "Intimations of Immortality" that he finds Wordsworth at his best. He is wholly unable to accept the philosophy of the latter, and clearly the supposed intimations were reflections from Wordsworth's maturer mind upon his "thoughtless youth." Clough is treated with genuine sympathy, but we can hardly understand how Arnold, who has a lecture to himself, should appear the braver spirit. We seem to have encountered elsewhere—in R. H. Hutton?—the suggestion that Arnold carried his sadness with a kind of gayety. In the lecture on Tennyson, "In Memoriam" is perhaps too completely identified with Tennyson's total experience. New sources of doubt were opened after the completion of that great monody in 1849, and Tennyson apparently drank deep at them, but ended on the note of faith. In one respect he had less faith than either Clough or Arnold: he distrusted more than they the immediate present, resting his heart on some "far-off divine event." Mr. Armstrong finds the faith of Browning more robust than Tennyson's; but he had less faith than Tennyson in man's ability to know the secret of the world. Intellectually agnostic, he had "the will to believe" to a remarkable degree, and let it have full swing. Where Browning had more faith than Tennyson was in his confidence that evil, as something to be triumphed over, is equally essential to man and to God.

*La Musique à Paris. 1896-1897.* Par Gustave Robert. Paris: Ch. Delagrave.

For the third time the French critic Gustave Robert has issued a volume entitled "La Musique à Paris." It is a sort of year-book of the Paris musical season, consisting of articles probably reprinted from newspapers, together with some elaborate analyses of symphonic works. The appendix gives the complete programmes of the Châtelet, Opéra, and Cirque des Champs-Élysées concerts, together with a critical bibliography of last year's books on music, and an index of names, to which an index of subjects might have been profitably added. In this index it is pleasant to notice that Schumann, so long neglected in France, has seventeen entries—one more than Saint-Saëns. Bach is referred to fifteen times, while Wagner and Beethoven are disposed of with the complimentary "passim." The Viennese Schubert has only two entries—he is evidently



too *gemüthlich* for the Parisians, who are probably also annoyed by his interminableness. Yet M. Robert is enthusiastic over his chamber music. Brahms also is referred to only three times, and not in terms of enthusiasm. For very different reasons than Schubert, he certainly will never become a Parisian favorite.

What nation has done the best symphonic work since the death of Beethoven and Schumann? M. Robert claims that France has, in the persons of Saint-Saëns and César Franck, whose symphonies he declares superior to those of Brahms and Goldmark. As a matter of fact, the Russians deserve the palm here. Tchaikovsky and Rubinstein have together written four or five symphonies which neither contemporary Germany nor France can match, while Bohemia comes in for second place with Dvorák. Oddly enough, our author has very little appreciation for the Russians. He does not admire Rimsky-Korsakoff or Balakiref, though the public applauded them, and he sneers at Rubinstein's exquisite ballet music, "*Danse des Bayadères*." Nay, he even abuses that masterpiece of inspiration, pathos, and passion, Tchaikovsky's "*Symphonie Pathétique*," which, he declares, has nothing symphonic about it but its name. He pronounces its motives to be "*assez banals*"; while the second movement suggested to him pieces by Massenet and Godard! But M. Robert will surely change his mind after hearing this great work again, if possible under a different conductor.

That M. Robert has so much more admiration for the Germans than for the Russians shows, at any rate, that he does not allow chauvinism to influence his critical faculty. Indeed, in expressing the opinion that France now leads the world in symphonic music, he avows that his sole object is to assist his countrymen to a more just appreciation of French composers. He pays particular attention to César Franck, who has no fewer than twenty-seven entries in the index. The past season, indeed, was "*a Franck year*," just as there have been Berlioz and Wagner years. César Franck, after being cruelly neglected and snubbed during his lifetime, at last had justice done to him, the concert-givers vying in their eagerness to bring forward his compositions, few of which he himself was privileged to hear. Our critic, indeed, admits that the movement went too far, a clique having arisen which lavished the same indiscriminate enthusiasm on "all of their new idol's works, the bad as well as the good." M. Robert steers clear of this shoal; his chapter on Franck's symphony in D minor (with copious musical illustrations) is an excellent example of critical analysis and appreciation. He notes that Franck has modernized his symphony by using a typical theme which reappears in all the movements, by uniting the andante with the scherzo so that there are only two stops, and by abolishing repetitions. The superabundance of motives interferes somewhat, he thinks, with the development.

The most striking and suggestive phenomenon in the musical world at present is the displacement of the soprano by the conductor. Some years ago, at a Western festival, Mr. Theodore Thomas had a quarrel with Mme. Patti regarding the interpretation of a certain piece. Mme. Patti insisted that she ought to have her own way, as she was the prima donna. "I beg your pardon," replied Mr. Thomas, "but here I am the pri-

ma donna!" Strictly speaking, the soprano is still the first *donna*, but there is now also a first *uomo*, and he is the conductor. Orchestral leaders travel now as a few years ago only singers did. London has nearly every eminent German conductor during its musical season, and at home these conductors travel about like mediæval minstrels. Paris, too, has now adopted the new fashion. Last season it sent Colonne to Odessa, and Lamoureux to London, while in turn it was visited by the Russian Winogradsky and the German Mottl and Nikisch. The last even had the audacity to bring over the Philharmonic orchestra from Prussian Berlin. Some fears were entertained of "manifestations germanophobes," but, on the contrary, the venture gave proof that in the musical world, at any rate, French chauvinism is now at an end. One solitary man ventured to hiss, but he was indignantly silenced, and the Berlin concerts were received with enthusiasm. Some of M. Robert's remarks on Nikisch indicate, however, that the critic has not yet learned the reason why conductors now play such an important rôle in the musical world. They are no longer mere time-beaters, but they interpret orchestral works as pianists interpret their music, to the great delight of true music-lovers and the disgust of the critics, few of whom have as yet learned that not one-half of the expression that music calls for can be indicated in the printed notation which they pedantically insist should be exclusively followed by pianists and conductors.

*The Laborer and the Capitalist.* By Freeman Otis Willey. New York: Equitable Publishing Co.

Mr. Willey's book is so full of good sense and good feeling as to make it easy to pardon its literary defects. It is essentially an argument against the feasibility of schemes for promoting justice by depriving very rich people of their property; and, being the work of a business man, familiar with the causes of business success and employing illustrations taken from the course of business, it is well adapted for the average reader. Good evidence of the earnestness with which the author has devoted himself to his work is furnished by his having made a personal examination of the assessment rolls of the city of New York for the purpose of testing the truth of the current complaints of the excessive concentration of wealth. His investigation developed the remarkable fact that in 1840 the real property in New York was in fewer hands, proportionally, than at present. In that year, twenty-five individuals and estates appear to have owned the same proportion of the land as the 183 millionaires whose enormous holdings have so disturbed our modern agitators. But the modern millionaire is, compared with the small holder, less wealthy than his predecessor of fifty years ago. While the investigation is not exhaustive, it is sufficient to prove that the concentration of wealth has not resulted in such inequality as is commonly believed. If Washington had an estate worth a million dollars in 1792, as he is said to have had, he was probably a richer man, comparatively, than any American now living.

Mr. Willey subjects the figures presented by Mr. T. G. Shearman and Mr. C. B. Spahr to a critical examination. These writers have labored to show that the rich are grow-

ing richer at an appalling rate. Mr. Shearman figures that three-tenths of one per cent. of our population own 70 per cent. of the property, and Mr. Spahr, in a book adapted to arouse very bitter class feeling, maintains that two-thirds of the families in the city of New York are, "in a strict sense of the word, propertyless." Mr. Willey points out that Mr. Spahr assumes that people under twenty-five years of age have no accounts with the savings banks, that he disregards women's accounts, ignores the existence of out-of-town depositors in the city banks, and takes it for granted that practically all depositors' estates pass through the surrogate's court. Mr. Willey calculates that 83 per cent. of these accounts do not pass through this court at all, and that the inclusion of females would materially change Mr. Spahr's conclusions. If death causes the wealth of a community to change hands every thirty-three years, it would follow that, in Massachusetts, for instance, the value of decedents' estates should be about \$84,000,000 per annum. But the records of the probate courts show that this value is about \$52,000,000 per annum. Evidently the records of these courts are not altogether conclusive as to the value of decedents' estates. Mr. Willey computes that 38 per cent. of such property is otherwise administered.

It is also to be considered, as Mr. Willey suggests, that in the great cities the number of recent immigrants, who are generally very poor, is enormous, and that their advent cannot fairly be regarded as proving the concentration of wealth, although it of course on the surface indicates such a tendency. Mr. Shearman computed that in 1888 the nine richest people in Boston owned 3.75 per cent. of the assessed property, and that 56 people owned 10.06 per cent. Mr. Willey shows that in 1821 the nine richest citizens owned 8.52 per cent. of the property, and that 56 of them owned nearly 20 per cent. He concludes that in 1845 there were 333 people in Boston who owned a larger proportion of the wealth of the city than was owned by 1,254 of her richest citizens in 1888. He gives figures showing that the *Tribune's* table of 4,047 millionaires should be corrected so as to read 2,585. Mr. Spahr calculates that the 6,000 richest families in Boston are worth \$1,614,000,000; which Mr. Willey remarks is about 90 per cent. more than the total valuation of the city. Altogether, Mr. Willey's figures deserve attention, and his book ought to be widely circulated. It states the claims of our communistic agitators fully and fairly, and refutes them in a temperate tone and in a scientific manner.

*The Application of Psychology to the Science of Education.* By Johann Friedrich Herbart. Translated and Edited by Beatrice C. Mulliner, B.A. With a preface by Dorothea Beale. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1898. 8vo, pp. 231.

*Psychologic Foundations of Education.* By W. T. Harris. [International Education Series. Vol. 37.] D. Appleton & Co. 1898. 8vo, pp. 460.

One of these works is by the philosopher Herbart, the other by probably the most thorough-going Hegelian that is still active. The majority of recent treatises upon education belong to one or other of these schools. Now it is almost superfluous to say that no two philosophies conflict more fundamentally

than those of Herbart and of Hegel. Both cannot be even approximately true, though both may very well be utterly false. Both are creations of the early years of this century; and the accepted scientific methods of our age are as foreign to them as to phlogistic chemistry or to Aristotelian physics. That philosophers find them worth perusal is nothing to the present purpose. Under the circumstances, to base a practical undertaking so important as education upon either of these two systems would seem to be injudicious, to say the least.

If Herbart were alive to-day, it is probable that he would repudiate, with no little emphasis, much of the pedagogy founded on his writings, because, in the light of modern science, it is seen to be contrary to his deepest convictions. For his philosophy—the exact philosophy, as it was called—was founded upon mathematics and logic, although the state of those sciences when he wrote did not permit him to produce anything which can please a mathematical logician of the present day. As for Hegel, it may be doubted whether he ever himself regarded his own philosophy as so infallible as his disciples have done. He probably thought it ought to be tried and judged by its fruits. It has had a trial much more than fair. It has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. If Herbartianism is the “exact philosophy,” it would hardly be unfair to Hegelianism, in view of the logical legerdemain with which it abounds, to call it the *inexact* philosophy, *par excellence*.

Commissioner Harris's book seems to be prompted by a wish to propagate Hegelian ideas in education. A teacher who is influenced by it will, at least, not entertain, nor let his scholars entertain, any grovelling or vulgar conception of life. Herbart's letters on education form an interesting historical document, as showing how he conceived his curious psychology was to be applied. The editorial matter in the volume is not free from the petty pedantic formalism which we associate with Herbartian treatises on education.

#### *Men, Women, and Manners in Colonial Times.*

By Sydney George Fisher. Illustrated with photogravures, and with decorations by Edward Stratton Holloway. 2 vols. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1898.

“We are rediscovering,” as Mr. Fisher says in his preface, “the debt we owe to the colonies,” and learning how to picture to ourselves the history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as it unrolled itself in the American provinces. Fifty years ago this period seemed so inferior to the period in which we lived and moved and had our being that little thought was paid to the study of it. Now we have gone to the other extreme, and cultivate the study of the colonial period with a spirit partly historical and partly patriotic. The result is that we have rediscovered the fact, which it seems strange that we should have forgotten, that the period of the early settlement and development of this country was one of romantic adventure and picturesque life, such as cannot ordinarily be found in highly civilized countries. Since it passed away, we have become civilized and assimilated in many ways with the rest of the world, in a very short space of time. A hundred years lie between us and the colonies, and yet we look back at them as across a great gulf—

no doubt because the interval measures changes which in former times, before steam and electricity, would have required centuries for their accomplishment. Hendrik Hudson and Pocahontas and Powhatan and the Puritans and Oglethorpe and even Bishop Berkeley and Lord Bellamont, to say nothing of Ponce de Leon or Raleigh, seem almost as far away from us as Quintus Curtius or Horatius Cocles must have appeared to the Romans of the Augustan age, while we have the advantage of being able to reclaim our history from myth, and of being quite confident that future researches cannot dim the lustre nor diminish the substantial accuracy of the tradition.

The merit of Mr. Fisher's book—we cannot put it in the same class with those of Parkman or Fiske—is that he gives in a small compass a picture of the whole system of colonial life, and, except for a certain boyishness of style, gives it, in the case of the more important colonies, very well. It may be safely assumed that it is easier to do this sort of work for Virginia, Massachusetts, and New York than for the others, because the materials here are at their fullest, or, at any rate, are here most full of interest. We would not for the world maintain that New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut, and the rest, are not entirely justified in a high opinion of themselves, or that Charles Carroll of Carrollton was not an important historical character; or that the “Episcopalian rice nobility” of South Carolina and their ancestors were not a fine set in their day; but, for several reasons, the historical interest of the times is most visible in Massachusetts, Virginia, and New York—a list which some Massachusetts authorities would reduce by leaving out New York.

In a chapter called “Cavalliers and Tobacco” Mr. Fisher gives a good account of the life in Virginia on the large estates, and shows how the community was really an assemblage of land-holders, who copied as closely as they could the customs and manners of the English classes they came from. With great plantations, and slaves, and a church, and men at the head of these who, in many instances, would have had authority and consideration in England, the Virginian gentlemen and their families were the State. Virginia was the “Mother of Presidents,” because Virginia was a community where the young were early trained in the political art at home. To be concerned in the management of a Virginia estate in “Old” Virginia was to be a political man. A Virginia gentleman belonged to a *classe dirigeante*. In the same way, in Massachusetts, every householder belonged to a small governing class, and whether we call Puritanism theocratic or democratic, it was a system in which government of men by men was the first and last human interest. It brought the natural leaders to the front, with the same certainty that our present system brings “bosses” and corruptionists and middlemen. Hence, when the Revolution broke out, Virginia and Massachusetts led in it, and when the Constitution was to be adopted, they, mainly, had produced the great Federalists who were to draw it up and to apply its principles. When we remember Hamilton, Jay, Schuyler, and Kent, we recall the equality of New York with her sister colonies in the men she produced or brought forward, but New York's great men were not always natives, nor products of a system. In the end we go back to Virginia and Massachu-

setts, and feel that in them we find the tap-root of the umbrageous Federal tree of to-day.

Alas that the author should have to put down both the Virginian and the Massachusetts systems as of the dead past. But so it is. Not only are the plantations and the slaves and the landed gentry gone, but leaders of the old type are produced no more, and in the stern commonwealth which once seemed to recognize duty only, to the exclusion of rights, the godly Puritan is as shadowy as the personages in the legends of the Province House. Read the Life of John Quincy Adams, the latest great product of the old régime, and wonder that such a man lived and flourished a little more than half a century since! The author brings forward reasons for thinking that the literature of Massachusetts is also a thing of the past, having died with Longfellow, Lowell, and Holmes, and he speculates on the causes which produced the literary generation to which they belonged; but so we might say that there was a time when athletic sports flourished in Massachusetts, and insist that Harvard formerly won rowing races from Yale. It will not do to pursue this vein of thought too far. But no doubt, in the forcing house of modern civilization, states must rise, grow great, flourish, and sink into unimportance again, much more rapidly than in the primitive world as it existed before Massachusetts and Virginia were. From the ashes of the provinces has arisen the Nation of to-day.

*Benjamin Franklin, Printer, Statesman, Philosopher, and Practical Citizen.* By Edward Robins. [American Men of Energy.] G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1898. Pp. ix, 354.

A new consideration of the character of Franklin ought, in good conscience, to show cause for existing. If it were not for the Autobiography, there might be no challenge to innumerable appreciations and depreciations, since Franklin's fame can endure even the most indiscriminating praise. Whether it is good or bad in matter, there will always be something entertaining to rehearse concerning him, but a resentment confronts all fresh attempts to supplant, howsoever unconsciously, Franklin's immortal *ipse fecit*. From the Autobiography itself must be drawn the chief substance of all studies; and in so far as these tend to divert attention from the greatest, perhaps, of American classics, there is cause for regret. Indeed, there is reason to fear that the Autobiography, left to its own simplicity, is not so acceptable to youth (for it is youth to whom such a career naturally most appeals), as are these doctored admixtures. Of this seducing type is the above work by Mr. Robins, who has availed himself as frankly as another of the one main source. The familiar story is told in an intimate and warm manner, with use of the phraseology and even slang of to-day. One may well be cordial in his style, but to say that Franklin was an “exploiter,” or that “he put on a front,” is to place a reader close down to a rating at which you may next call him “my good man.” The later pages are better done, for in them Mr. Robins invades no field held by the immortals of literature. Once free of his obligations to the Autobiography, he tells vividly of Franklin's services in England, France, and of the honors of the closing years. Though signing the preface from the city itself, Mr. Robins does



not reflect the Philadelphia view of Franklin, but is commendatory, and always apologetic when it is needful to make admissions. He holds Franklin's wife to have been a "home body" of the exacting type, but he does not give due credit to her business skill, which proved so helpful to her unmethodical and careless husband, who later excited the wrath of the tidy Adams and Lee.

It is often not desirable, and it is never agreeable, to call attention to blemishes which at worst bear small proportion to the bulk, but in a book ostensibly addressed to younger minds errors of fact and speech become serious. It is proper to incriminate the proof-reader as well as the author for printing "Shays" as "Shay" (p. 332), or for passing such a phrase as, "It was to Paul Jones whom Franklin wrote" (p. 288). Unusual expressions, such as the "Cockpit," need explanation in a popular work. Too much credit seems to be given to Franklin's support of the bicameral system, especially since to the end his heart, if not his political wisdom, went with the single chamber. Something more of accuracy and less familiarity of style are commended, in a fair spirit, to Mr. Robins.

*Physiology, Experimental and Descriptive.*  
By B. P. Colton. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 1898. 8vo, pp. xx+423, 103 figs., some colored.

In conceding to this work the rare quality implied in the relative position of the words "experimental and descriptive," we pay a high compliment to author and publisher. The initial chapter (after an introduction) leads the pupil to observe and interpret the movements of his own arm, and there is throughout a genuine and for the most part successful effort to indicate ways in which teacher and scholars may cooperate in performing simple experiments and in examining easily procured specimens as a basis for the comprehension and appreciation of the purely descriptive portions. It is, indeed, almost startling to find the bones, which usually constitute at the outset an osseous barrier to interest, briefly yet sufficiently presented in the concluding chapter.

What seem to be defects in the execution of an admirable plan we point out for the benefit of future editions. As in most of its predecessors, the least satisfactory portion is that on the central nervous system. Perhaps an adequate account within the prescribed limits is impossible so long as the pupils have little or no preparation; but it has been recently maintained by an experienced teacher that considerable real and accurate knowledge of the brain might be gained even in primary schools. On p. 67 are directions for killing a cat or rabbit in a tight box with a teaspoonful of chloroform or ether; the quantity should be three times as great, even of chloroform, and ether does not easily kill, although in time the animal would die of suffocation. However, it is encouraging to find the stand taken that animals may be rightfully killed for educational purposes. The entire subject of development of the individual is restricted to a diagram and brief account of the temporary teeth, and the fascinating and instructive phenomena of prenatal transformation are wholly ignored; hence the mention (p. 229) of a "Tokology" as a very valuable work, especially for all mothers, is,

to say the least, unexpected; surely, the list of laxative and constipating foods quoted therefrom might have been compiled from other sources. Praiseworthy evidences of a desire to avoid ambiguities are the consistent use of dorsal and ventral, proximal and distal; of thoracic for the rib-bearing vertebrae; and of precaval and postcaval for the great veins. The retention of convolution for gyre and of pneumogastric for vagus was hardly to be looked for in so progressive a work; why, too, should the unobjectionable malleus, incus, stapes, sternum, and cochlea be replaced by the vernacular hammer, anvil, stirrup, breast-bone, and snail-shell? The metric system is unrepresented by even a table of equivalents. The index is fairly complete; and such entries as *fish-ing*, *shooting*, and *dentist* might well have been omitted. The frog described on p. 259 as having been deprived of his cerebrum is designated in the index as "brainless." Although the proof was read by at least a dozen other teachers, the following typographic errors are noted: Opposite p. 19, "glutæus" and "Achilles" for glutæus and Achillis; fig. 79, "cerebellum"; fig. 83, "Sylvius" for Sylvius; fig. 85, "Lawlois" for Landois.

*The Science of Law and Law Making.* By R. Floyd Clarke. Macmillan. 1898.

This work is intended as an introduction to the study of law. It contains "a general view of its forms and substance, and a discussion of the question of codification." The author, who is a member of the New York bar, has a theory with regard to the proper province of statute and case law, which involves a distinction first drawn, he says, by Mr. James C. Carter, in his well-known pamphlet on the proposed codification of our common law. This is, that statute law ought to be confined to matters involving "indifferent conduct," while "the rules governing matters of ethical importance should be left to slow and careful elaboration by the courts" (p. 437). To keep the two provinces separate, he would have a statutory rule of construction adopted, which the courts should apply to each case as it arose. But we have no reason for believing that such a division, assuming it to be enforceable, would be satisfactory to any one. One of the earliest instances of statute law, which has lasted down to our day, is "Thou shalt do no murder." This certainly relates to a matter of ethical importance, and yet the invariable practice of nations is and has been from the time of Moses to make it part of their criminal code. Much of the author's account of law contains valuable information, but he seems to us to have misconceived the point of Mr. Carter's argument, which was substantially that, enact and codify as you will, you will never cover the whole field of jurisprudence, because, after your code is finished, the original *jus* from which the whole has been evolved will still be there to suggest to judges, in the decision of cases, the principles of common right which must be resorted to in the work of interpretation and application. No rule of construction will affect this fact, which for ever makes codification under our system a temporary device.

Where we find ourselves at one with the author is in believing that some subjects lend themselves better to statutory, others to common-law regulation. The definition and prescription of the punishment not

merely of murder, but of all crimes, is conceded to be a matter eminently well adapted for legislative regulation, but this is certainly not because the field covered is non-ethical. On the other hand, even in this field, as pointed out at p. 324, the discretion of the judge is generally resorted to where the precise limits of the punishment are to be fixed. Why? Because no legislator nor codifier can possibly foresee all the circumstances which may mitigate or aggravate the prisoner's guilt. Here, too, having to apply a *lex*, we fall back upon *jus* in order to enable us to do it. *Jus*, *virtus*, and *leges* were, if we remember right, what the goddess Egeria taught Numa to establish in Rome.

*A French Volunteer of the War of Independence.* Translated and edited by Robert B. Douglas. D. Appleton & Co. 1898.

It is curious that this amiable narrative, which first appeared in 1828, has not before now found a translator. Its author, the Chevalier de Pontgibaud, was a friend of Lafayette and on terms almost of intimacy with Washington. He lived long enough, but not too long, after the events in which he played an honorable part to write pleasantly and without garrulity. His earlier years were spent so gayly and so vainly that the displeasure of his family, and particularly of his aunt (not his mother-in-law, as Balch, in his 'Les Français en Amérique,' says), at last expressed itself through a *lettre de cachet* and an imprisonment of this hot youth in the Castle of Pierre-en-Cize. Escaping by means of the dulness, or perhaps the urbanity, of the prison guard, he soon found his way to America, where he served with modesty and bravery. The Chevalier viewed everything with the greatest good humor, and was especially lenient to his own early peccadilloes (for such, in the Gallic manner, did he consider bad debts and licentious company). More creditable than his self-complacency was his generous attitude toward the Americans and their cause, and this is in pleasing contrast to the sour dissatisfaction shown by some French officers who served us in the Revolution. He was among the first to receive one of the eagles sent to Lafayette from the Society of the Cincinnati, and soon after was given a handsome sum of money from the United States.

His third voyage, for he had made a second during the war, to receive his father's forgiveness and a Deputy-Captain's commission, pleased him no less than the first two. He was astonished to find Philadelphia transformed into "a new Thebes, a new Sidon." Talleyrand was then in America, and the Chevalier lost no chance to pay his lack of respect to the good Bishop of Autun. A version of the X Y Z affair is very lively and quite the author's own. In fact, there are herein some excellent stories which, if not new, have still a good flavor.

Pontgibaud's brother, who was a stendier head, had, as an *émigré*, established himself in Trieste, where he was building an honorable commercial name and doing many a friendly service to bankrupt kings and other notabilities. The Chevalier, who at last rejoins this brother, closes his recollections with the Restoration.

The general mirthfulness of the style has not escaped the translator, but it would be easy to indicate some faults from which a sympathetic typewriter ought to have saved

the book. Mr. Douglas, in his notes, attributes the sentence of D'Estaing to execution to the fact that the Count was a Mugwump! The Chevalier de Pontgibaud would not have been so severe as that.

**The Building of the British Empire:** The Story of England's Growth from Elizabeth to Victoria. With upwards of one hundred portraits and illustrations from contemporary prints. [The Story of the Nations.] By Alfred Thomas Story. 2 vols. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1898.

Mr. Story takes the ascent of Elizabeth to the throne of England as the initial point of his sketch because, "with the severance of our last hold on any portion of French soil, the real and solid fortunes of England had their beginning." The author sketches in an entertaining way the rise and progress of the British Empire from that date down to the present age, making his book a collection of brilliant episodes and stirring events. In his last chapter he deals with the future, and points out that England's career of annexation may be considered at an end, and that her mission now is to spread good government over the very large portion of the globe which she rules. A "sense of justice" seems to be, in his mind, her most marked characteristic, but we doubt if the way to enforce this lesson is to dwell on the military and naval or the early colonial side of the history. If the world is to be either Anglo-Saxon or Cossack, those who must reconcile themselves to our or to English rule, will not be impressed with the important fact that they have become part of an empire built up by a sense of justice, if

we content ourselves with repeating to them the exploits of Drake or Hawkins. There have been, indeed, in the building of the British Empire two distinct sets of forces, one of which has been merely that of aggression, while the other has been the longing for improvement, and it was not till the second got the better of the first that the empire was created. The empire begun in America, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, by discovery and fighting, was entirely lost because the old imperial ideas prevented the sense of justice from growing up, and the Indian Empire led to nothing till comparatively recent times. Down to the year 1832, there was little to make any foreign observer believe that England would attain her present surpassing greatness, and for our part we can see almost nothing in common between such expansion as took in Egypt and placed England at the gateway of the Suez Canal, and the raids of Drake or the foreign policy of the last century. Echoes of the past may be heard, no doubt, in such proceedings as the Jameson raid, but they do not appeal to our sense of justice.

England's empire has been really built up through her having discovered, if it may be so described, the secret of good government in what we should call the modern scientific sense; that is, of putting at the head of the work the fit man to do it, and of providing a career so attractive to him that he is sure to enter it—the uncorrupt man to judge and to administer, the capable man to represent, and the efficient man to execute. There is plenty of material in English biography to exhibit this side of the pic-

ture, and of course it is partly to be found in such narratives as Mr. Story's. He, however, goes out of his way to insist that "the splendor of British achievement in the past" was "not the work of men of exceptional gifts and high place" so much as of "the common sons of common mothers," who simply did the task they found to their hands. This is true enough, also, if we understand what is meant by it; but the reader must remember that there is more in the building of an empire than "meets the eye."

#### BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Bedard, J. E. Code Municipal de la Province de Québec. Textes Français et Anglais. Montreal: O. Theoret.

Beers, Prof. H. A. From Chaucer to Tennyson. Meadville, Pa.: Flood & Vincent.

Cornill, Prof. O. H. History of the People of Israel. Written for Lay Readers. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co. \$1.50.

Eliot, G. E. Dryden's Palamon and Arcite. Boston: Ginn & Co.

Fitzmaurice-Kelly, Jaime, and Ormsby, Juan. Don Quixote de la Mancha. Primera Edición del Texto. Vol. I. London: Nutt; New York: Putnam.

George, Lyman F. Falling Prices and the Remedy. Boston: George Book Publishing Co.

Hale, Miss Susan. Men and Manners of the Eighteenth Century. Meadville, Pa.: Flood & Vincent.

Inman, Col. Henry. Tales of the Trail. Topeka: Crane & Co. \$1.

Joy, J. B. Twenty Centuries of English History. Meadville, Pa.: Flood & Vincent.

Judson, H. P. Europe in the Nineteenth Century. Meadville, Pa.: Flood & Vincent.

Lyte, E. O. Elements of Grammar and Composition. American Book Co. 50c.

Pearce, J. H. Esau's Sin. A Cornish Romance. G. H. Richmond & Son.

Pellissier, G. Pages Choies des Grands Ecrivains. Diderot. Paris: Collin & Cie.

Riley, J. W. Armasindy. [Homestead Edition.] Scribners.

Upward, Allen. God Save the Queen! Traduit de l'Anglais par George Elwall. Paris: Collin & Cie.

Van Noppen, L. C. Vondel's Lucifer. Translated from the Dutch. Continental Publishing Co.

Winchell, Alexander. Walks and Talks in the Geological Field. Meadville, Pa.: Flood & Vincent.

Zola, Emile. Letters to France. [The Dreyfus Case.] John Lane. 35c.

## Plant Life.

By Prof. Charles R. Barnes

of the University of Chicago. 428 pp., 12mo, \$1.12 net.

JOHN GARDINER, Professor in the University of Colorado: "It is one of the most interesting books that I ever read. . . . The strong points seem to me, apart from the general character of the book, the large number of good illustrations new to elementary text-books; the insistence on correct notions of reproduction, and the alternation of generations, which will save college teachers much trouble when students come to them having used this book; and the section on ecology."

V. M. SPALDING, Professor in the University of Michigan: "I am impressed with its comprehensiveness, trustworthiness, clearness, and simplicity of statement, combined with scientific accuracy and a common sense adaptation to the needs of students for whom it was prepared. Such a book has been greatly needed, and it has at last been written in such a way as to leave nothing to be desired except teachers who know how to use it. It can hardly fail to materially promote the development of the right kind of biological work in the secondary schools. The author seems to me to have attained his own ideal, and greater praise it would be hardly possible to give."

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#### THE ART OF WAR.

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